

SEMEDO
—
MONARCHY
OF
CHINA
—

LONDON

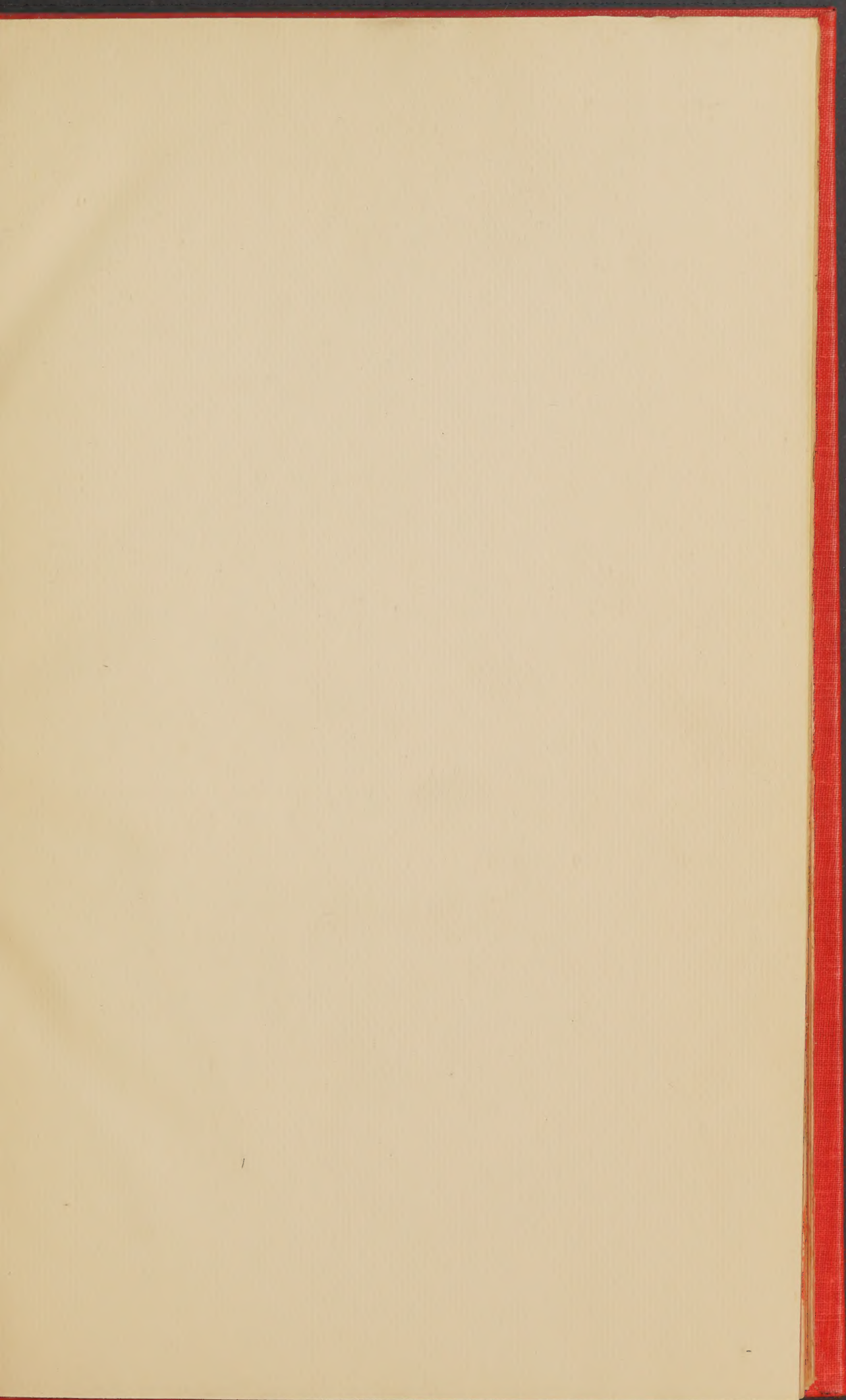
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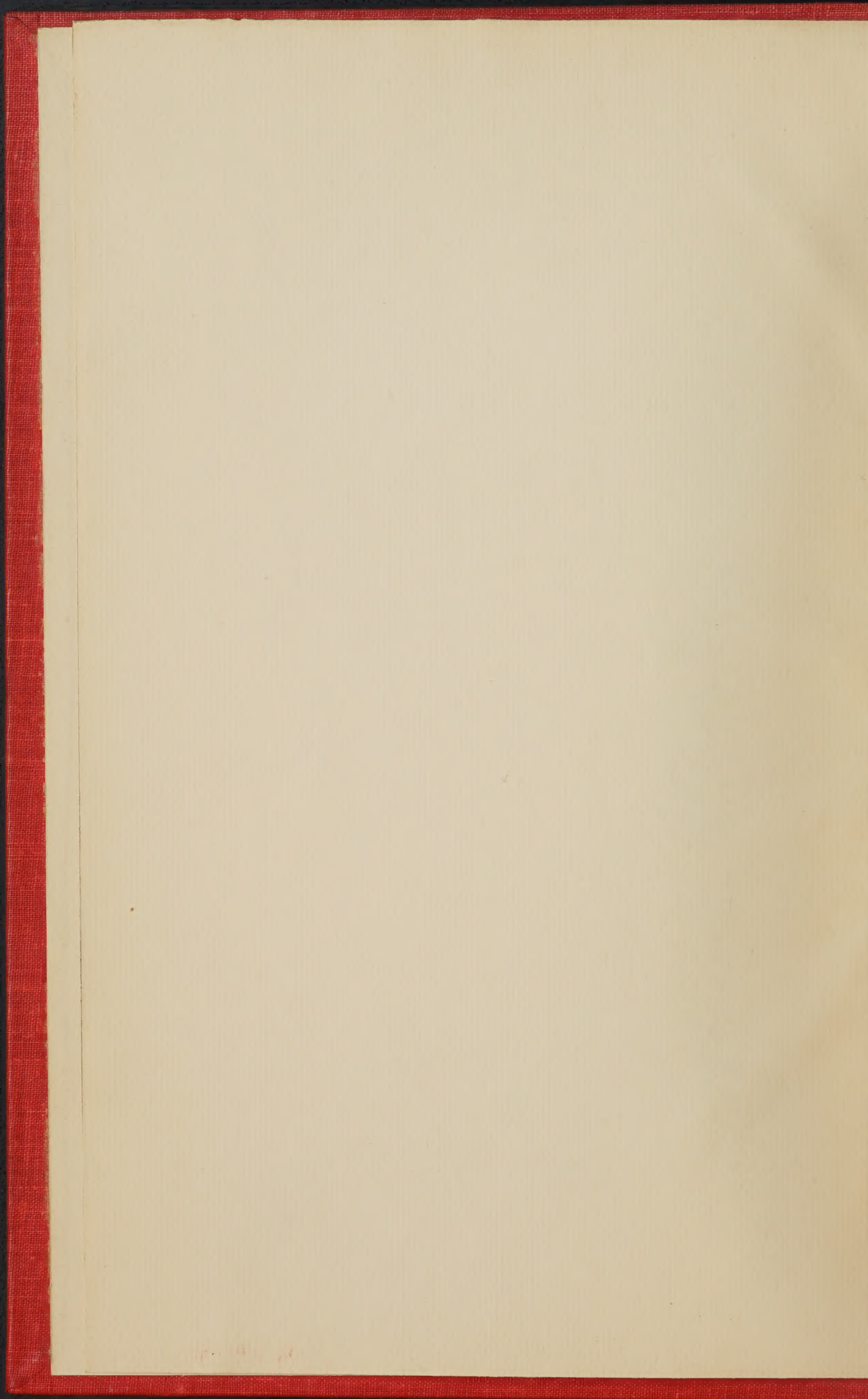


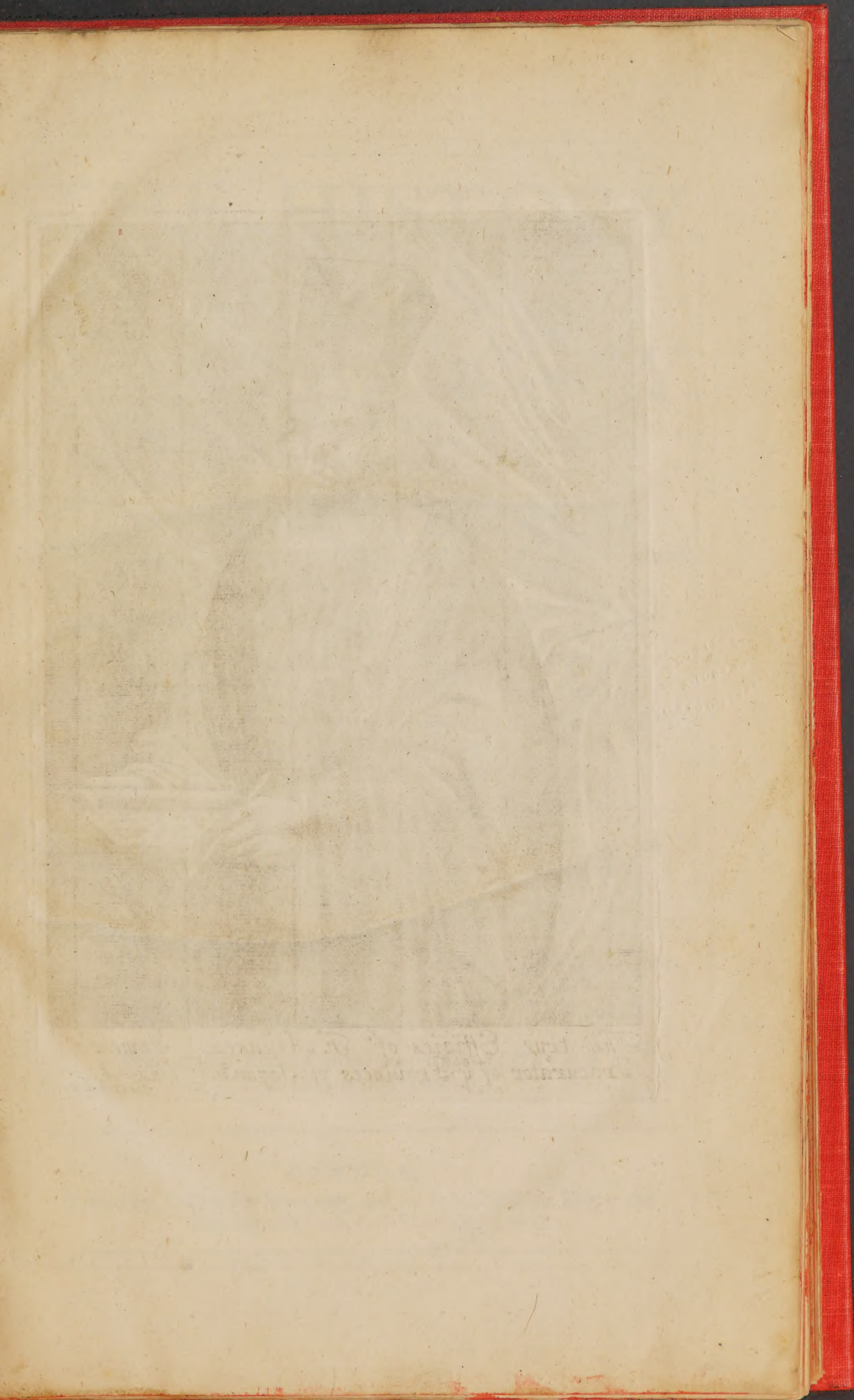




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The true Effigies of F. Alvarez Seme do
Procurator of y^e Provinces of Japan & China

Tho. Cray, fecit

THE HISTORY
OF
That Great and Renowned
MONARCHY
OF
CHINA.

Wherein all the particular Provinces are accurately
described: as also the Dispositions, Manners, Learning, Lawes,
Militia, Government, and Religion of the People.
Together with the Traffick and Commodities
of that Countrey.

Lately written in *Italian* by F. ALVAREZ SEMEDO, a *Portughefs*,
after he had resided twenty two yeares at the Court,
and other Famous Cities of that Kingdom.

Now put into *English* by a Person of quality, and illustrated
with several MAPPS and FIGURES, to satisfie the curious,
and advance the Trade of Great BRITTAIN.

To which is added the History of the late Invasion,
and Conquest of that flourishing Kingdom
by the TARTARS.

With an exact Account of the other affairs of CHINA,
till these present Times.

LONDON,

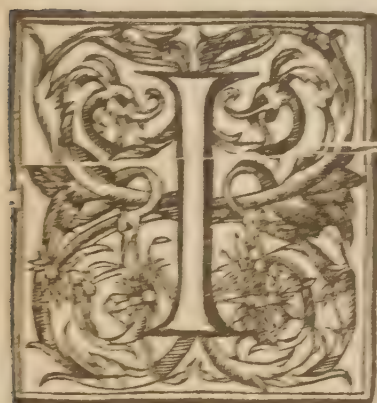
Printed by E. Tyler for Iohn Crook, and are to be sold at his Shop at the
Sign of the Ship in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1655.

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The Epistle to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,



Present thee with that long expected, most exact History of the Lawes, Government, Manners, and present state and condition of that great Monarchy of China; in its circuit little less then all Europe; Heretofore (as zealous of its rare treasures) shut and locked up from the curious eyes of strangers: so that this booke (first) yeilds to thee a full discovery thereof. & I dare say) the most valuable, that this our world hath been acquainted with, since that of America; whereby now the furthest East, as well as West, is disclosed, and laid open to the present age. For, as for some former relations, thou mayst have seen thereof, thou wilt by this discern them to be as fabulous, as they are compendious and imperfect.

It was written by one, who, after, first, a strict education in all sorts of learning, for two and twenty yeares space lived in that Kingdome, was resident at the Court, and in the greatest Cities thereof: and in all that time

To the Reader.

(as designing such a worke) was a diligent Observer and Collector of all their manners and customs ; as likewise (after much paines taken in the Language) a great student of their Histories, and Writings. Whose laborious worke, after it had already bin clothed in many other Languages, besides the Authors, and welcomly entertained in most states of Europe, it was thought fit no longer to be concealed to a Nation, either for curiosity of knowledge, or industry of forraigne commerce, no way yeilding to her neighbours.

The variety of the subjects handled therein is so great (as comprehending the whole fabricke of that nation: their Politicks, Oeconomicks, Sciences, Mechanicks, Riches, Merchandise, &c.) that those of whatsoever profession, may reap no small benefit in reading the designs, managements and practices therein, of so ingenious a People. Whose manners also (as their site) are so remote and different in most things from ours, that (I may say) in this piece is happily united, with the truth of History, the delight of a Romance: where it will be no small pleasure to thee to see their braines, as well as their bodies, as it were of a severall mould from the Europeans, and their inventions in many things, to walke antipodes to us, and yet in these no way below us, but in many superiour, or what in them appears less compleat, yet will the knowledge thereof not be ungratefull unto thee, because tis new and singular. As for many morall vertues, thou wilt find them so far to transcend us therein, that they may be proposed as an excellent patterne, (as also they are a shame) to Christian states. Lastly, to correct and reforme any their defects, and
make

To the Reader.

make the nation perfectly happy, the light of Christianity hath of late visited this people, who sate in darknes: so that now (after America also enlightned) there is no end of the world left, wherinto the sound of the Gospel is not gone forth. The foundation of which being (there) already laid, there is great hopes that it may sooner come to a full purity, reformation & perfection, & the indefatigable pains & undaunted courage of those laborers who cultivate it in the East, provoke a greater diligence and emulation therein, in our planters in the West; where the Gospel (as following a conquest) may be advanced both with much more safety and authority.

To the end of this Treatise, I have added the History of the Tartarian invasion of China, much enlarged & freed from divers Erratas of the former Edition; which gives thee an account of the Chinesse affaires till the yeare 1653. (Reader, thus much I thought good to advertise thee in the front of this Booke, that thou mayst not be so great an hinderance to thy selfe, as not to be acquainted with so curious and beneficiall a discourse. Farewell.)

The



The Preface.



Ho writeth of things farre remote, doth almost alwayes incurre the inconvenience of many, and those no small defects : hence it is, that we see many Books, whose Authours, for their personal Qualities, might deserve more credit than may justly be given to their writings. As for those, who have written of *China*, I have perused some of them, who leaving in oblivion almost all Truths, take the liberty to wander in discourses altogether fabulous : for this Kingdome being so remote, and having alwayes with much Care avoided all Communication with Strangers, reserving onely to themselves the knowledge of their own Affairs, with a most particular Caution : hence it followes, that nothing is knowne without the Confines thereof, but what doth, as it were, overflow into the skirts of the Country of *Cantone*, (a part of this Empire, whither the Portugheeses have been suffered to come) so that the most internall and secret knowledge thereof hath been reserved, either for the Natives of the Country, who know well enough how to conceale it; or for those, who, upon a better Motive, have, to discover it, little lesse then forgotten their own nature, their language, their customs, and manner of living, and transformed themselves into the naturall humour of that Country.

Now this last hath by divine dispensation, fallen to the lott
of

The Preface.

of the Religious of the Company of *Jesus*; who although they came late to the Culture of the Church, are, notwithstanding, arrived to that honour to be reckoned among the first, that after Saint Thomas the Apostle, did cultivate those remote Confines of the world.

It is now fifty eight years, that they have laboured under this so distant Climate, where directing all their force and endeavours, to the conversion of Souls, they account it a manifest Theft, to employ any otherwise that time which they owe to the Service of God, and is of so much importance for the Eternall Salvation of men. Hence it is, that never any yet did, or would it have been permitted him, if he had desired it, to employ himselfe in writing the Relation of this Kingdome; except it were Father *Nicolaus Trigalzins*, after he had by permission with-drawn himself from the culture of Christianity among the *Chineses*, and passed from thence into *Europe*.

Vpon the same occasion I have undertaken to give a briefe account thereof, sufficient at least for the instruction of those, who desire to be informed concerning those parts: forbearing to make a more large discourse at the present; but reserving it for another time; which may be, when wee shall returne to that vast Country, with new Labourers in so great a number, that some of the greatest Authority and Experience among us, may find leisure and convenience to undertake a perfect Relation.

In the mean time, abbreviating, as much as 'tis possible, this Information, without rendring that knowledge confused, which wee pretend to gratify the world with, we shall divide the work into two parts. The first containeth the materiall part of the Kingdome; that is, the Provinces, Land, and Fruits; and in a manner, the formal part too; that is, the people, their learning, and customes. The second, the Beginning of Christianity there, the progresse thereof, the persecutions suffered therein; and finally the condition, wherein I left it, at my departure thence. I hope this worke shall gain some esteem and credit, if not for the greatnesse of the Appearance, at least for the certainty of the reality of it, having
taken

The Preface.

taken what I write, from the infallible Testimony of mine eyes; which though they may not be of the quickest sighted, yet have had the advantage to reiterate very often their speculations. And if he which vieweth for a long time, although his sight be not of the best, doth commonly see more, then he who looketh in haste, be his eyes never so good: I, who, for the space of two and twenty years, have had the opportunity to observe all Passages of *China*, have certainly seen so much what I write, and what others have written, who have not seen them so well, that I must necessarily speak of them with more Certainty then they, although with lesse Eloquence.

THE

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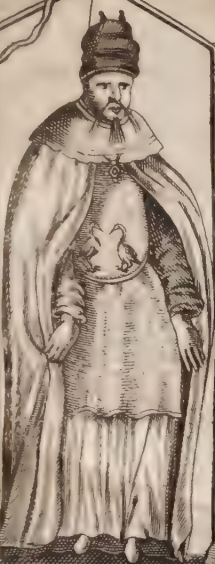
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An Exact MAPP of CHINA, being faithfully Copied from one brought from Peking by a Father lately resident in that City.

1655



A King of China



A China Man



A China Woman



THE FIRST PART

Of the Temporall State of

CHINA.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdom in Generall.



Hina in its extent is one great continued Continent, without having any thing which devides it: and taking it from the latitude of *Haynam* (which is not farre distant from the Continent, and lyeth in nineteen degrees) it extends it self twenty foure degrees, inclining towards the East; and ending in fourty three degrees, it comes to make a circuite so much the more spacious, by how much the coasts thereof run along in various and un-equall windings; and so comes to be the

chiefeft kingdome of the world in greatnesse, and almost equall to all Europe. On the west side thereof are many small Islands, but so neere together, that they seem all to Compose but, as it were, one body.

All this Monarchy is divided into fifteen Provinces, each of which is a spacious Kingdome, and so they were all anciently; each having a King of its own. Of those nine, which they call the Southern Provinces, the greatest part of them are watered with large rivers, and some of those, having so great plenty of water, that in many places the opposite banks are out of sight, one of the other; and elsewhere, that which appeareth, is hardly to be distinguished what it is. They are all navigable, and are frequented with so a great concourse of divers sorts of vessels, that what might be said upon this occasion, will hardly seem credible: I shall onely

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say, that in this, they do exceed all other rivers of the world. In an Arme of the river of *Nanchim*, which with a moderate breadth runneth down to *Hamchen*, I stayed eight dayes for a passage through that wonderful concourse of vessels: and whilest an houre-glasse of sand was running out, I counted three hundred small ships, reckoning only those which came up the river. It is a marvellous thing, there being so many, that all are so well accommodated for Merchandize, and so convenient for passengers; They are all covered and kept very neat, and some of them so beautified and adorned with pictures, that they seem rather made for the recreation, than the traffick of Merchants.

The manner, after which they are governd is very notable: for the Marriners keep all without the place, where the passengers make their abode, there being space enough without for them to run up and down, that trim the Sayles and guide the Bark, without any disturbance of the others, who enjoy a pleasant ease and rest. In which the Barks of the province of *Hanceo* exceed the rest.

The six Northern provinces, as they come nearest to our latitude, do most resemble our climate, and are more dry and healthfull than the rest. But in all of them (more or lesse) there are not wanting many of a long and happy life; there being to be found many, and very vigorous and lusty old men.

Of the same more particularly.

This Kingdom is so populous, that not only the Villages, but even the Cities are in sight one of another; and in some places, where the rivers are most frequented, the habitations are almost continued. Of these there are foure sorts; great Cities which they call *Fu*: the lesser, which they call *Cen*, (concerning these, Writers have somewhat differed in their Relations:) Townes, which they call *Hien*; and Castles, which they call *Cid*. Besides these, there are Villages and Hamlets almost innumerable. Of all these the Walls are kept night and day with a four-fold Guard at the sound of a Bell, even to the innermost City of the Kingdom, as if they were alwayes in a condition of Warre: shewing, that to prevent the least imaginable danger, which may fall out in an houre; it is good to stand, during life, upon our guard: for ordinarily all sudden ruines proceed from a long confidence. The streets are kept by Courts of Guard and Sentinels, with so much rigour, that if they find them asleep, or stragled from their Post, or that they do not speedily answer, they are presently condemned to the *Bastinado*, which is immediately executed in the same place. The publick gates are shut every night with great care, and if there fall out any accident, they are not opened, til they are satisfied, how the Fact was done. In the year one thousand six hundred thirty four, I was in the City of *Kiamsi*, where thirty theeves broke prison, and having routed the guards, wounding some and killing others, set themselves at liberty. The Fact was known, and the opening of the gates being suspended according to their inviolable custome, before next night the Malefactors were all taken, nor could the greatnesse of the City hide any one of them.

This

This Kingdom is so exceeding populous, that I having lived there two and twenty years, was in no lesse amazement at my coming away, than I was in the beginning, at the multitude of the people: certainly, the truth exceedeth all Hyperboles; not onely in the Cities, Townes, and publick places, (in some of which one cannot walk without great violence of thrusting and crowding;) but also in the High-ways, there is as great a concourse, as is usually in Europe at some great feastivall, or publick meeting. And if we will referre our selves to the generall register book, wherein only the common men are enrolled and matriculated, leaving out women, children, eunuchs, professours of armes and letters, (almost an infinite number) there are reckoned of them to be fifty eight millions, and fifty five thousand, one hundred and fourescore.

The houses, where they inhabite, are not so sumptuous and lasting, as ours: yet are they more convenient for the good contrivance, and more pleasant for their exquisite neatnesse. They use much in their houses *Charam*, an excellent vernish, and painting of an accurate diligence. They build them not very high, esteeming them more convenient for being low, as well for habitation, as for good accommodation. The richer sort of people doe plant the courts and approaches to their houses with flowres and small trees; and, towards the North, they use fruit trees. In like manner, where they have roome enough, they set greater trees, and raise artificiall mountaines; to which end they bring from farre, great pieces of rocks: They keep there severall sorts of fowl; as Cranes and Swannes, and other beautifull birds: and also wild beasts, as Stagges, and fallow Deare: They make many fish-ponds, where are to be seen gliding up and downe painted fish with gilded finns, and other things likewise of curiositie and delight.

Their way of building is in this manner. They frame first exactly the rooffe of the house, which they set upon pillars of wood, the which by how much the bigger they are, are so much the more esteemed: after they fit up the walls with brick, or some such like matter. There is a Tradition, that, anciently, they made their buildings according to exact rules of measure and proportion; of which Art there are yet some bookes remaining; but those rules are now only observed in the Kings palaces, and in publick workes; as, towres of Cities and Townes, which they make of severall formes; as round; square; octangular; very beautifull, with staires, some winding, some plaine, and Balansters on the out-side.

In the vessels and utensiles of their house they are both very curious and expensive; using much the abovesaid *Charam*, a sort of vernish, which is taken from certaine trees, proper only to that, and the neighbouring Countries: and in truth it is an excellent thing, as well for the perfection of the matter, (as may be seen in the workes which come from thence) as for the easinesse in working it, as well in making new things, as in retrimming the old, and reducing them to their former beauty.

As for plenty; whereas this kingdome, by reason of its large extent, doth participate of diverse latitudes and climates, it produceth and enjoyeth so great varietie of fruits, that nature seems there to have laid upon heapes, what shee but scatters through the rest of the world. It hath

within its owne doores all that is necessary for mans life, together with all superfluity of delicacies : whence it hath, not only no need to take almes of other Countries; but, with what it is able to spare, (which is both much and very good) it satisfieth the desires of the neighbouring and remote kingdomes, who have always a longing desire to see and enjoy it. Its chiefe sustenance is that which is most used throughout the world, to wit, wheat and rice; some Countries making most use of the one, and some of the other. *China* produceth both in so great plenty, that a *Pico* of each (a *Pico* contains 125 pound of our weight) is commonly worth five Reals, (that is, about halfe a crowne of English mony) and if it cometh to seaven and a halfe 'tis counted a dearth.

The Northern Provinces use for their proper sustenance Wheate, Barly, and Maiz; eating Rice but feldome, as we doe in Europe; leaving it for the Southern Provinces; Which although they have Wheat in great plenty, make use of it with the same moderation, as we doe of Rice, or any other sort of fruit. They have Pulse of diverse kindes, the reliefe of the poorer sort of people, and the ordinary provinder, in stead of Barly, for the Beasts of Burthen. They use Herbes much; they being the food of the ordinary people, almost all the year throughout; & the chiefe Inventorie of their Apothecaries shops, for their physicke; which is founded only upon Herbes and very safe physick. Yet they want both Endive and Carduus, but have in stead thereof others, which we want.

Flesh they have every where plentifully, even in small villages. That which they use most constantly throughout the yeare, is Hogs-flesh, Beefe is sold there without any bones, they taking them alwayes out, first. Venison they have not so plentifull: nor doe they much affect it; although they have there the same which here afford us so much recreation; as, wild Boares, Stagges, fallow Deare and Hares, but no Conies. Of fowle there is great plenty, they have all ours in great abundance: Partridges of two sorts, one whereof differeth not from ours, but only in their call. The Nightingales, though they are bigger than ours, have the same voice and manner of singing. Other birds there are which we have not here, and are in great esteeme, as well for their beauty to the eye, as for their excellent taste to please the Palat. The birds which we see painted in their workes that come into Europe have, without doubt, for the most part, the resemblance of those there. Art alwaies favouring nature, or but little altering from her. They are excellent in bringing up of tame fowle, and have of every sort without number; Geese they have in so great quantity, that they feed up and downe the fields in huge flocks. That which is reported of their hatching egges by art, is very certaine; but it is only in the spring time, and then they have no need of the dam.

Wild Beasts, as Tigers and Wolves there are in abundance throughout the kingdome, though they doe not much hurt. There are Elephants alwaies to be seen at court, but they are brought from other Countries. For tame creatures they have all ours, as well for burthen (without using Oxen for this, as they are faine to doe throughout all India) as also for tillage of their land, in which they make use of Oxen. In the Southern parts the *Bufolo's* undergoe the chiefe labour. They have store of horses, but without

without mettle, and little worth. Coaches were formerly much in use with them, and growing out of fashion there, we tooke them up, being first used, in Italy and Spain, in the year 1546. Since they have only used Chaires and Sedans, finding them of lesse pompe and expence, and of greater convenience; wherefore to this day in all their journies they serve themselves with litters carried by Mules, or Chaires borne by 4, 6, or 8, men, according to the quality of the persons. Those which they use most in Cities are in forme not unlike unto ours. Those in which the women are carried, are bigger, more convenient, and more beautified; and also the manner of carrying them is different. In the two Cities of *Penckin* and *Nanckin*, where there is a greater concourse of all sorts of people; they have in all publick places a good quantity of Horses and Mules, with handsome furniture, and very well fitted with bridles and saddles, standing ready to be hired by such persons, as are desirous, with more ease and lesse expence, to travell up and downe the City upon their occasions.

In the Northern provinces, they have but little fish, (except it be at the Court; which, for being such, wants nothing.) The reason is, because in those parts there are not many Rivers: yet they cause great store of fish to be brought from the Southern Provinces, (which very much abound therein, taking them on the sea coasts, in lakes, and in pooles in great plenty) dried and accommodated in diverse manners, so much as is sufficient. In the River of *Nanckin* there is every yeare a fishing for the Kings use; and till that be done, there is a prohibition upon a rigorous penalty for any other person to fish: and the voyage being between five and fourty and threescore daies journey, yet it is brought fresh and sweet, without salting it. Troutes are not there so much esteemed as with us; but Sturgeon every whit as much; which, when it is sold at the dearest, doth not exceed five-pence the pound: By which you may perceive the cheapnesse of all other things.

Among fruits; Cherries, and Mulberries have there no esteeme, for their tast is not very good; they use the greatest part of those fruits we have in Europe: but they are not comparable to ours, neither in quantity nor quality, except it be the Oranges of *Cantone*, which may well be called the *Queens* of Oranges: and are by some esteemed to be, not so much Oranges as *Muscattell* Grapes, disguised in that forme and habit. The Southern provinces have the best fruit of all India; particularly *Cantone*; for they have *Anans*, *Manghas*, *Bananas*, *Giachas*, & *Giambas*; & above all, there are some fruits proper to them of a particular excellency, such as in *Cantone* are; the *Licie*, (so the *Portughefs* call them; but the *Chineses*, *Lici*.) These on the outside are of an Orange colour, and when they are ripe doe very much beautify the trees they grow on. They are made like chafnuts, in the forme of an heart: when the shell is pilled of, which is only contiguous to it, the fruit remaines like a pearl in colour; very pleasing to the sight, but more to the taste.

There is likewise a fruit called *Longans*, named by the *Chineses*, *Lumien*, that is, Dragons eye, they are in figure and greatnesse not much unlike a small nut, but the *Pulpe* is very little, and different; but between

the shell and the stone it is sweet and wholesome: this fruit is found in *Cantone* and *Fokien*.

Throughout the kingdom there are red figges, (a name put upon them by the *Portugheſes*: for in the *Chineſe* tongue they are called *Suzu*:) it is a fruit very different from figges in colour, figure and taſte; the colour on the outside is red, on the inſide like gold; the figure is of the bigneſſe of an Orange, bigger or leſſer; for there is as much diverſitie of them, as there is among us of figges. The rinde is very thinne, and is of ſo extraordinary good taſte, that in my opinion it may be reckoned among the chiefeſt in the world. They have one or two ſeeds, which are like unto blanched Almonds: the beſt are in the cold Countries. The provinces *Honan*, *Xianſi*, *Xenſi*, and *Xantum* enjoy the beſt in quality, and in great quantity; and dry enough of them to ſerve the whole kingdom. When they are dry, they are better than our dried figges, to which they have ſome kind of reſemblance.

The province of *Hamchen* produceth a particular fruit, which they call *Fammoi*, as bigge as a plumbe, round, and in colour and taſte like unto the beſt *Mulberries*: but the tree is very different.

Peaches there are none, unleſſe it be in the Province of *Xenſi*, where there are ſome of a notable bigneſſe: ſome are red both within and without; others of a yellow colour, of the ſame figure and taſte with ours.

There are Melons every where in great abundance: but the beſt are not to be compared to our good ones: there are water melons in great plenty and very good.

Grapes are very rare and ſcarce, and grow only in Arbours, and cloſe walkes, except it be in the Province of *Xenſi*, where they are in abundance, and where they alſo dry them in great plenty. They make not their wine of Grapes, but of Barly, and in the Northern parts, of Rice; where they alſo make it of Apples, but in the Southern parts of Rice only; yet this is not ordinary Rice, but a certaine kind of it proper to them, which ſerveth only to make this liquor, being uſed in diverſe manners.

Vineger they make of the ſame ingredients as their wine; and, in the Weſterne Provinces, of *Millet*; which notwithstanding is ſharp and well taſted.

The wine uſed by the common people, although it will make them drunke, is not very ſtrong nor laſting, 'tis made at all times of the yeare: but the beſt only in the winter: It hath a colour very pleaſing to the ſight; nor is the ſmell leſſe pleaſing to the ſent; or the Savour thereof, to the taſte: take altogether, it is a vehement occaſion, that there never want drunkards; but without any mulct of ſhame; for they have not yet placed it in that conſideration. Winter and Summer they drink it warm.

Flowers are in ſingular eſteeme with theſe people; and they have ſome exceeding beautifull and different from ours; which (yet) they doe not want. They have Clove-gilleflowres, which have no ſmell at all. They endeavour to have, the yeare throughout, flowers for every ſeaſon in their gardens, in which they are very curious. They have ſome flowres, which in their duration exceed the ordinary ſtile of nature; in which they ſeeme to be exempt from their common tribute of a ſhort life. For when theſe
plants

plants have no moyſture left for the nourishment of their leaves, and exposed to the cold, these do fall off, then do new flowres sprout againe, & those the most odoriferous, during the greatest inclemency of the frost and snow. These are called *Lamui*, more pleasing to the sent than the eye; their colour being not unlike that of Bees-wax. They have other flowers like Lillies, called *Tiaohoa*, which they keep in the house, because that being carefully taken up with their roots entire and well cleansed from earth, they live and flourish in the ayre.

Their Garments, as also the furniture of their chambers and houses, they make of wooll, Linnen, Silke and Cotton, which they make great use of and weave thereof many faire and curious stuffs.

The riches of that kingdom is admirable: for besides that the earth is so fruitfull in all kinde of sustenance, and what ever is necessary for mans life, as may be perceived by what hath been already said; they do vend unto strangers the best and richest merchandise of all the East; such as are Gold-threed; Gold in the leafe, and Ingot; Rubies; Saphires; small Pearle; Muske; raw silke; and wrought silk quick-silver, Copper, Tin, *Tommaga*, which is a kind of mettall more fine, and as hard as Tin; Vermilion, Salt-nitre, Brimstone, Sugar, and other things of lesse importance.

Their guilded workes for household-stuffe, ornaments and jewells for women, both for necessity and curiositie, are sufficiently known to the world: nor doth all this issue out at one port, but by many in a great and perpetuall commerce. In all this abundant riches of the Country, industry of the inhabitants, Arts and means of gaining their living to an excessive plenty, they do not let passe any other thing, that can bring them any profit; and notwithstanding the sight of so great affluence of noble commodities, they make a profit of their Beeffe-bones; Hogges-haires; and of the smallest ragge, that is throne into the streetes. There raigneth among them that only pledge & suretie of the duration of Empires; that is, that the publike is rich, and no particulars. They are not so rich there as in *Europe*; nor so many which can properly deserve that name: nor are the poor here so many, nor so poor; as those there. The people is infinite, nor can they have a capitall, or stock, sufficient for so many; or mony to fill so many purses. Hence it comes to passe, that the partition among them is such, that much comes to few, a mediocrity to not many, and a little to almost infinite. Their mony is much at one stay, which may be perceived by the same low price of things, salary of servants, pay of workmanship, and stipend of publick Ministers.

So that even to this day, at least in diverse of these countries they live, as they did formerly in *Portugall*; when a *Maraved is*, which is worth a farthing and a half, divided into six blanes, would buy six severall things. So was it also in *Castile*, not only in ancient times, but even to the reign of *Don John* the first: the records of which are still preserved: but such temperance and plenty long since are gone out of the world. From hence it is manifest, how much that admirable duration of the Empire of *China* dependeth on observing its lawes and ancient customes, without ever opening a gate (that the great ones might seeme greater, and the small ones, great) to luxurie in apparel, and excesse in diet; which are the irreparable

ruine

ruine of Common wealths.

A pound of mutton is worth a penny, a pigeon a farthing and a halfe, the hire of a man-servant for a year, two hundred farthings, and his dyet and lodging. But there is a great difference betwixt some places and others, those of the South, as they have the advantage in commerce, so they exceed the rest in money; and the price of things; which continually riseth, as we find every day by experience: but even there to this day, the rate is very moderate.

CHAP. 2.

Of the Provinces in particular, and first of those of the South.

THis kingdome is divided into two parts, South and North; and both these subdivided into fifteen provinces, as is above-said. To this Southern part belong nine, which are *Cantone*, *Quamsi*, *Tunnam*, *Fukien*, *Kiamsi*, *Suchuem*, *Utquam*, *Chekiam*, *Nankim*, we wil treat of these in this chapter, and of the rest in the next. That we may proceede distinctly, speaking of them in the same order that we have named them.

Cantone is the first, and lyeth in that part of the South, that is properly named *Quantum*. It is in the latitude of twenty three degrees, it is large, rich, and abounding in wheat and rice; of these it produceth each yeare two harvests, though for the most part they are of a severall graine. There is store of suger, copper and tin, materials, which they worke, with great variety, into innumerable sorts of vessels; as also, workes made with *Charam*, an excellent vernish, and with goulding, some whereof are transported into *Europe*.

The Jesuits in this province had two residencies with their Churches and houses, vvhich perished by reason of Severall persecutions, as you shall find hereafter.

The people are able Mechanicks, and though of small invention, yet they imitate excellently whatsoever they find invented. To the City called also *Cantone* (though the proper name thereof bee *Guamcheusiu*) the *Portugesses* go twice every year with their marchandice. It is distant from *Macao* an hundred and five miles: and *Macao* is distant from the first Islands, and from the greater Cities of that Empire fifty four: The circumference thereof is 15 good miles. The concourse of merchants thither is very great, and therefore it is more peopled than many of the other Cities. The most and best commodities of that Kingdome are brought thither, because it is the most open and free seat of trade in that nation. And to say nothing of the six neighbouring kingdomes, from whence all sorts of merchandise is brought thither, as well by natives as strangers: only that which the *Portugesses* take in for *India*, *Giappone* and *Manila*, cometh one year with another to five thousand three hundred chests of severall silke stufes; each chest including 100 pieces of the most

most substantial silks, as velvet damask and sattin; of the slihter stufes, as halfe-damasks, painted and single taffities 250 peices of gold 2200 Ingots of 12 ounces weight a peece; of musk, seaven *Pichi*: which is more then 35 *Arrova's* every *Arrova* weighing 25 pound, of 6 ounces to the pound; besides small pearle, sugar, *Porcellane* dishes, *China* wood; *Rheubarbe*; and severall curious gilded woikes; and many other things of lesse importance; it being hard to name them all even in a longer relation.

To this Province belongeth the Island of *Aynan*, where pearls are fished in great plenty. It is sufficiently populous, by one city, it hath Several villages on the North part thereof: toowards the South there lyeth a barbarous people, which admit the *Chineses* only to trafficke and commerce, without submitting to their dominion. It produceth that precious wood of *Aquila* and that sweet wood, which the *Portugeses* call rose-wood, and the natives, *Hoalim*; and other things of lesse importance.

On the North side of *Cantone* the Province of *Quamsi* extendeth it selfe to the latitude of 25 degrees: it enjoyes the same climate without any considerable difference; (so that it hath nothing particular, which is notable;) and is counted the second Province.

Yunnan is the third, and lyeth in the latitude of 24 degrees, and is the furthest distant of any from the Centre of *China*: it is a great countrie, but hath little merchandise, I know not any thing is brought from thence, unlesse it bee that matter, whereof they make the beads for chapplets, which in *Portugall* they call *Alambras*; and in *Castile*, *Ambares*; and are like Amber, they are counted good against the catarre; it is digged out of mines, and somerimes in great peices: it is redder than our Amber, but not so cleane. In this province is violated that custome of the Kingdome that women do not go to the market to buy or sell, as in other countries of the world.

On the other side of *Cantone* is the fourth Province called *Fukien*, or by another name *Chincheo*, in the latitude of 26 degrees: it is for the greatest part Mountainous, and therefore not so well inhabited. Contrary to the lawes of the Kingdom, the Natives of this Province do go into the countries of the neighbouring strangers, which are upon the sea-coasts. It yeeldeth gold, good sugar in great quantitie, good Canvas-cloath; for other linnen there is none in *China*. There is made excellent paper of diverse kindes, which for plenty, goodnesse, and cheapnesse, is very remarkable. They make use of printing no lesse conveniently, and (as it appeareth) more anciently, than in *Europe*, although not in the very same manner: for here, after the printing of each sheet, the letters are taken asunder: there they carve what they would print upon boards or plate, so that the bookes are still preserved entire in their work-houses; and therefore as often as there is occasion, they can reprint any book, without the expence of new setting the letters. This country is scituated upon the Sea-side, and is another eminent port, from whence are issued out of that Kingdom, infinite Merchandise, which are carried by the people of this country, that are industrious, and brought up to it, to *Manila*, *Giappone*, and particularly to the Island *Formosa*, which is even in the sight of the land, (for with a

a good wind it is not above 24 houres voyage thither) where they trade with the *Hollanders*.

There are two houses and Churches there belonging to our company; under whose Government and direction are a great number of very good Christians; who have about ten Churches belonging to them, the which are visited by us very diligently at set times. Two of their chiefe Churches are in the City of *Fuchen* which is their Metropolis: another in the City of *Cicumchu*, the rest in other Cities. There are (besides) many particular Oratories.

The Island *Formosa* lyeth in the Latitude of 22 degrees, it is situated between the Kingdomes of *China* and *Giappone*: before you come thither you must passe by a great number of Islands named *Liquen*: the length of this Island is 150 miles, the breadth 75.

The *Hollanders* have there a fort placed in a sandy vale, under which lyeth the Port, which is encompassed with bankes of sand, and if it were not distinguished and secured by certaine posts set up in the water, the entrance would be very difficult even to those of the Countrey. On the other side of the Island toward the East, the *Spaniards* have a fort, distant from that of the *Hollanders* 90 miles by sea, and by land 45, as is reported. The soyle of the Island is so fruitfull, that it produceth grasle nine or ten palmes high (a palme is nine inches, English measure) where the *Hollanders* feed their cattell. There is so great abundance of Stagges, that it seemeth incredible to him that hath not seen it. Father *Albertus Miceschi*, (who lived there in the condition of a slave) relateth, that, riding to the next woods with leave from the Governour, to gather some medicinall hearbes, he saw by the way so great a multitude of Stagges, that he judged them to be the herds belonging to the people of the Countrey, dispersed up and downe the fields, till coming neerer he found with his eyes the contrary. There are also many of those *Animals* called *Alces* or *Elkes*, the which, I did hitherto beleve, were only to be found in *Lituania* and the adjacent Countreys. There are also many other *Animals* wholly differing from ours, and altogether strange to us. It is the likest Countrey to *Europe* of all *India*: it enjoyeth an healthfull ayre, and cold, like ours. It produceth some spices, but not in great plenty; as Pepper in the woods, and Cynamon on the mountaines, & *Gamphire* trees of a notable bignesse, *China* roots, and *Salsapariglia*, in great quantitie. There are also gold mines; but the *Hollanders* have not yet open'd them.

The people of the Countrey weare no manner of cloathes; nevertheless both men and women doe cover that, which in all the *India's* useth to be hidden from sight, by the instinct of nature. They dwell in round houses made with Bulrushes of severall colours, beautifull to behold a farre off. Their ordinary food is Stagges flesh as fat as porke; and Rice; of which also they make very strong wine. Many of them doe turne Protestants by the perswasion of the *Holland* Ministers, and live vertuously. They are tall and active of body, so fleet in running that they are able to single out, and run downe a Stagge in their hunting. Their Lords doe weare a Crowne of dead mens skulls, stitched together and embellished with filke: and these are the heads of their enemies killed by themselves.

Their

Their King weareth two wings of various feathers upon his head: others crowne themselves with apples of gold, others make themselves hornes of a certaine straw, made up with *Bufolo's* haire: They gird themselves also about with a girdle of young Bulrushes curiously woven. They carry hanging at their breast two Tortoises and a wooden mallet, which serve them in stead of a drum. There is likewise another Island neere to it, inhabited by fierce savage people, who kill, whosoever goeth thither. The above-named father *Miceschi* saw one of them taken by the *Hollanders*, who was fifteen palmes high, as it seemed to him.

The fift place we will give to the Province of *Kiamsi*, which is contiguous to that of *Cantone* toward the North, in the latitude of 29 degrees. It takes its beginning from a great ridge of mountaines, which reare themselves upon the confines of *Cantone*, from these Mountaines two Rivers have their originall; one, which runneth toward the South, and is presently navigable; the other towards the North; which after it hath watred a good part of this Province receiveth into his channell another large River of the Province of *Huquam*, and then runneth forward with the name of the famous *Nankim*. The skirts of these Mountaines are considerable for the good Cities that are scituated thereon; very convenient for the passage of travailers, and for the conduct of Merchandise; which for the most part passeth upon the backs of men and boyes, according to the abilities of each, learning this trade from their youth, which is the most usuall imployment of that Countrey. The voyage is but of one whole day, and it is very much to see what passeth by in it. For there being no other bridge; and these Rivers being the most frequented passes of all *China*, 'tis almost incredible, how great a concourse of people there is, and what a multitude of commodities, which goe and come without intermission. The Merchandise is all put in one store-house, and is received by weight into another with so much fidelitie, that it is not necessary the owner should be present, because upon all accidents the Hostes are bound to make good whatsoever is wanting. They are obliged also to give to every guest of qualitie, or Merchant two banquets, or one at least, as also to their servants; and if they be not satisfied therewith, they tell them of it, expostulate, and threaten not to frequent any more their *Inne*, there not wanting many others.

By this Government they make their covetous Hostes very sumptuous and bountifull. The Hostes are also obliged, as soone, as their guests are embarked, (for if they goe by land this priviledge ceaseth) to send them a present of two things, or of one at least, as fruit, two fishes, a little flesh, a couple of pullets, and this without paying, either at your entrance, abode, or departure; for there is nothing to be payd, either for the lodging or bedstead, I say bedstead, because the Hoste allowes you no bed but every one carrieth one with him at his backe, when he hath no other convenience; but they are not so big as our beds, but much lighter. The profit of the Hoste consisteth in so much *per cent*, which is payd them by the Boateman for such persons, or goods as are carried by water; and by the porters for such as passe by land; and as the concourse is great, the profit cannot be little. Every thing passeth through the hands of Insurers, so

that if any thing be wanting, they supply it and make it up.

In the Custome-house (for there is a very famous one here) there is not so much honour done the Merchant, but more favour. There is no house where the Merchandise is deposited, weighed or visited; neither is it taken out of the barke; but only a moderate rate is payed for it by the eye, and according to the Merchants booke of accounts. If the passenger be no Merchant, although he goe alone in a Barke with his servants, and carry five or six chests, and severall other things, which are usually transported from one Country to another, they are not searched nor opened, neither doe they pay any custome. A good example for the Custome and Gabell-houses of *Europe*, where a poore traveller is so beastly and barbarously, robbed and spoiled; when all he carrieth with him is not worth so much as they aske him for custome.

For strangers ships, which come into the Port of *Macao*, as soone as any arriveth, they unlade their Merchandise as they please, without any hinderance; and when the customers come, they pay them according to the content of the vessel, without making any enquiry into the qualitie of the *Cargazon*.

But to returne to the Province of *Kiamsi*, (of which we were discoursing,) it particularly aboundeth in *Rice* and fish, but most of all in people. So that the *Chineffes* call them *Laochu*, that is to say, Rats. Whereof, we have a resemblance in *Portugall*, in the Country that lyeth between the Rivers *Duero* and *Migno*; which, where it confineth upon *Gallitia* hath so great multitude of people, that it is therefore called by the same name; although learned men doe derive it from *Rates*, an ancient part of that Country.

Now this people running over the whole kingdom, like swarmes of Bees, do fill it with severall Trades whereunto they apply themselves, and for the greatest part they lead a miserable life, and are therefore so penurious, niggardly, and drie in their presents, that they passe, in ridiculous proverbs, through the rest of the Provinces.

It is famous for Sturgeon, which it hath of very great bignesse; and more for the *Porcellane* dishes (indeed the only work in the world of this kinde) which are made only in one of its Townes: So that all that is used in the Kingdom, and disperfed through the whole world, are brought from this place: although the earth, whereof they are made commeth from another place: but there only is the water, wherewith precisely they are to be wrought to come to their perfection, for if they be wrought with other water the worke will not have so much glosse and lustre. In this worke there are not those mysteries that are reported of it here, neither in the matter, the form, nor the manner of working; they are made absolutely of earth, but of a neate and excellent quality. They are made in the same time, and the same manner, as our earthen vessels; only they make them with more diligence and accurateneffe. The Blew, wherewith they paint the *Porcellane*, is *Anill*, whereof they have abundance, some do paint them with *Vermilion*, and (for the King) with yellow.

This Province, and that of *Chincheo* and *Cantone*, which border one upon

upon another, do unite, as it were, in an angle, with many Mountaines between them: In the middle of which Mountaines there is a small Kingdome, which hath a particular King of its own without any subjection to the *Chineſſes*, from whom he doth defend himſelfe, if they pretend to aſſault him; nor is the defence difficult, there being but one entrance into that kingdome. They admit of the *Chineſſe-Phyſitians* in their infirmities, but not of their learned men into the adminiſtration of their government. If they have an ill Harveſt, and that there is like to be a ſcarſity they go out, and rob in a military order, to the ſound of the drum. So in the year 1632 they gave no ſmall trouble to this province of *Kiamſi*.

The laſt account ſhall be concerning the Chriſtianity there, which hath proſpered very well, being alſo beneficed with two Churches and houſes which we have in that Province, the one in the City of *Nauchan*, which is the Metropolis; The other in the City of *Naubium*.

The fix Province is called *Suchuen*, in the ſame paralel with that of *Kiamſi*, and in the ſame latitude of 29 degrees, nor hath it any thing in particular differing from the former, worthy the relation.

The Province of *Huquam* is the ſeventh in Scituation, it lyeth more to the North, in the height of 31 degrees, it exceeds the whole Kingdom for the abundance of Rice. The *Chineſſes* ſay, that that whole Kingdom is able to give but a breakfast in reſpect of *Huquam*, which provideth for the whole yeare. It hath ſtore of oyle, and no leſſe Fiſh, by reaſon of the rivers, which it enjoyeth, and the lakes, which ſeem rather Seas. In the Metropolis of this Province there was a Reſidencie begun at the time of my arrival.

The province of *Cakiam*, which is the eighth, lyeth in the Latitude of 30 degrees: it is for the moſt part ſituated by the Sea-side, fertile, plain, and almoſt all divided by ſeverall rivers, ſome whereof run through their Cities and Townes. In riches it exceeds many of the Provinces, as being, the Fountain, from whence the beſt Commodities of that Monarchie doe flow: it is ſingular in ſilke, which it diſtributeth through every part, whether it be raw, or wrought, in Balls or in Stuffe. All that goeth out of the Kingdome any way, cometh from this Province: though all *China* hath the benefit of the Silk-worme, yet all the reſt would not ſerve them, to make them Scarfes: the name of the Metropolis is *Hamchen*. Here we have two houſes, which upon certain good conſiderations are reduced to one, where there is cultivated a copious and good Chriſtianity, and alſo much honoured, by reaſon of the number of people of quality that are in it,

Finally, this Province is famous for many things, but particularly for three. The firſt is a lake called *Sibu*, which is one of the rareſt in the world. It is in circuite Thirty *Lis*, which are fix miles: it is ſet about with excellent Palaces, and theſe environed by pleaſant Mountaines cloathed with graſſe, plants, and trees: the water is alwayes running, for there comming in a current at one ſide, & iſſuing out at the other, it is ſo cleere, that it inviteth one to behold it with great delight, the ſmalleſt ſand, that lyeth at the bottome, being to be diſcovered. There are cer-

raine wayes paved with stone, that do crosse over it, offering passage to those that travell over it, either upon their occasions or curiositie: there stand ready small Barkes of a considerable burden which are made for recreation and banquets; the kitchen is in the steerage, or the forecastle, and the middle space serveth for a hall. Above higher, there is a place for the women, covered with lattices, that they might not be seen. These Barkes are painted and gilded after a curious and various manner, and are provided in great abundance with all things necessary for the navigation which is short and free from wracks of water, but not so well from those of wine; there happening many: as also shipwrackes of estates very often; there being scarce any in the whole kingdome that hath any thing, that doth not come to spend in these delights, either part or the whole; and sometimes more than his whole stock is worth.

The second is, the excellency of the silke, as well for the plenty above-said, as for the curiositie of the Art, with which a good part of it is wrought, engraving it with precious and beautifull workes of gold. This is only after their manner and gusto; and is not sent out of the kingdome, but as a singular worke is reserved for the Kings Palaces, who every yeare buyeth up all that is made of this sort.

The third is, the worshipping of their Idols; in which is particularly to be perceived whence the fabrick of their Temples proceeds, which are without doubt very famous.

The last of these nine Southerly Provinces is *Nankim*, scituated in 32 degrees of latitude, and is one of the best Provinces of the kingdome, and the perfection of the whole realm. It sendeth abroad its commodities, or workes of importance, to no part; as if they were unworthy, to participate of its perfection; which is most rare in all sort of varietie, and so much exceeding all the rest, that every one, to sell his commodities the better, pretendeth, that they are of *Nankim*, and so passeth them off, at a greater price.

That part which is towards the West, is the most rich, and maketh so much Cotton-wool, that those of the Country affirme, that there is only in the towne of *Xanuchi* and the precinct thereof, which is large, 200000 Loomes for this stuffe; so that from that place only the King draweth 150000 crownes yearly.

In one house there useth to be many of them for they are narrow, as the stuffe is. Almost all the women are employed in this work.

The Court did reside in this Province for a long time; and even to this day all the Courts of justice and priviledges thereof are conserved in the City of *Nankim*, whose right name is *Umtchienfu*; and it seemeth to me to be the best and greatest City of the whole Kingdome, both for the form of the building, the largeness of the streets, the manners and dealing of the people, and for the plentie and excellency of all things.

It hath admirable places of recreation, and is so populous through its confines, that the villages succeed one another, in a manner, from three miles to three miles; although at this day, by reason it wants the presence of the King it is, in its selfe lesse populous; neverthelesse in diverse parts thereof it is yet troublesome to walke the streets for the crowde of people that

that one meeteth. Besides, the many Palaces, Temples, Towers, and Bridges doe render it very considerable. In the wall thereof there are twelve gates, barr'd with Iron, and guarded with Artillery: a good way without runneth another wall with no small ruines. The circuit thereof (for I was desirous to know the measure of it) is two daies journey on horse-back: That of the inner wall is eighteen miles; both the one and the other have within them many populations, gardens, and fields which are tilled, the bread whereof useth to be applied to the use of the soldiery within the City, to the number of forty thousand.

In one part thereof there is cast up an artificiall Mount, on the top whereof there is seen a wooden spheare, not armed, although the circles thereof are placed at the latitude of the same City, which is 32 degrees; a small latitude in respect of the great colds, but a very large one, for the great heate which it suffereth: The spheare is in circumference of a notable bignesse, and is a very compleat piece of work.

It hath moreover a Tower divided into seaven stories of singular beauty for the workmanship thereof, it being full of figures, and wrought like *Percellane*: an edifice, which might be ranked among the most famous of ancient *Rome*. The river cometh to kisse the feet of this City, and sendeth up some armes of it selfe into it. The name of the river is *Yanchukiam*, that is to say, the Sonne of the sea; nor vainly is it so called, it being the most abundant in water, of any that is knowne in the world. There is also great plenty of fish.

We have foure Churches in this Province, the first in *Nankim*, with a house of *Jesuites*, and is of a very ancient, and exercised, Christianity: having suffered foure persecutions, and come of from each of them with more vigour. The second, in the Towne of *Xamhai*, with a great number of beleivers. The third in the City of *Xamkiam*. The fourth in the Towne of *Kiatini*: beside these Churches there are many Oratories. And so much shall suffice concerning the nine Southern Provinces,

CHAP. 3.

Of the Northern Provinces.

Six are the Provinces, which are called Northern, and their names are *Honam*, *Xemsi*, *Kiansi*, *Xantum*, *Pekin*, and *Leaotum*. The first lyeth in the latitude of 35 degrees, as centre of the Kingdome, and produceth most gallant fruits, as well those that are proper to the Countrey, as ours in *Europe*; nor is the cheapnesse of them lesse: I bought for a farthing and a halfe 88 Apricocks; it hath nothing else notable, except a Son of the Kings called *Fovam*, the last of those which came out of the Palace. He liveth with so great splendour and authoritie of a King, that to be such, he only wanteth the name and jurisdiction. In *Caifum*, the Metropolis thereof, we have had onely for these few yeares, a Church and house, but a good plenty of Christians.

The second is *Xemsi*; it lyeth in 36 degrees, and more, to the West:

it

it is very large, but dry for want of water, as also are the three neighbouring Provinces: notwithstanding it doth abound in Wheate, Barly and Maize, of Rice they have but little. All winter long they give wheat to their Beasts; which are many; particularly their sheep, which they sheare three times a year; once in the Spring, another time in the Summer, a third in the Autume; but the first time of shearing yeeldeth the best wool.

From hence cometh all the wooll, of which are made the felts and other things used, either in this Province or elswhere. They make there of no sort of cloath, not using to spin wool, but only Goats-hair, of which they weave certain Stuffs for the hanging of their roomes, in so great perfection that the most ordinary are better than ours, and the Best are esteemed more precious than silk. They make likewise of Goats-haire a very fine Felt, which they call *Tum*, and is made use of for garments: But this is not made of every sort of Goats-hair, but of a very fine haire which lyeth under the first. They pull it out with great care, and make it up in certain bales of the bignesse of an ordinary loafe, and then put it out to be wrought with singular skill.

Musk is proper to this Province; and because it is in question, after what manner this excellent perfume is made; I will give you account of it according to the most diligent enquiry I have made concerning it. It is the Navel of an Animal about the bignesse of a small Stagge, whose flesh is very good meate, and only that part is taken containing that precious matter: but all those Cods, which are brought hither to us, are not true and perfect Navells; for the *Chineffes* have learnt to falsifie them, by stuffing some peices of the skin of that *Animall* with musk, that is vitiated, and mingled, with some other things,

Here is also Gold found, but not in Mines (for though there be Mines both of Gold and Silver, the King doth not suffer them to be opened) but out of Rivers and Eddies: and although it be found only in small peices and graines, yet being put together, it amounts to a great quantity, there being Infinite people both young and old, which go in search of it.

There is *Rubarbe* and *Profumo*, which are not found in any other part; for that which cometh from *Persia* doth not seem to be naturall, to that place; for, of as many as have travelled through that cuntry, there is not any that gives an account to have seen there that healthfull plant. It is something tall, with leaves bigger than Cole-worts: it doth not grow wilde, as some have imagined, but is Cultivated in gardens with a great deale of care.

In this Province is opened the third Gate, the which, as I sayd above, is a seate of much Merchandise: for it hath two Cities in the borders thereof, *Gauchen* and *Suchen* toward the West, (as *Machao* is in the Province of *Camone* toward the South) from whence come numerous Caravans of above a thousand in company, of severall Nations and Provinces, but for the most part Moores, Thus far came Brother *Benedict-Goes* to seek for the Kingdom of *Cathaya* (which is no other than *China* it selfe) whose voyage we will here breefly relate,

He departed in lent, the year 1603 for to find out the truth of what was

was reported of the Kingdome of *Cathaca*, by order of the superiors of *India*, from the Kingdome of *Mogor* and the royal City of *Laor* in the Habit of an *Armenian* carrying Merchandise, as well to live, as to passe with the more facility. The whole *Caravan* consisted of 500 Persons (for the most part *Sarasens*) and used to go every year from this royall City to another in another Kingdom named *Cascar*. After a months voyage he arrived at a City named *Athu*, of the same province with *Laor*: thence in two months and a half, to *Passaur*: and after another month and a half, sometimes travelling, and sometimes resting, he came to the City of *Ghideli*, where he wanted little to have been slain by theeves. And finally after 20 dayes more he came to the City of *Cabu*, the most noble Merchant-towne of all the countries subjected to the *Mogor*, from hence after some stay, he passed to *Parvám*, the last City of the Kingdom of *Mogor*; then travelling for 20 daies over very high Mountains he came to *Calcia*, a countrie of faire-hayred people; and in other 25 dayes to *Chema*, where he was forced to stay a month by reason of Civill broils; and after many troubles and dangers of theeves and *Banditti*, and having passed many countries of the Kings of *Samarhan*, they came into the country of *Tengo*, and at length he entred into the Metropolitan City of the Kingdom of *Cascar*, called *Tanghesár*, in the month of November, in the same year.

At this City, which is, a noble seate of Merchandise for those Kingdomes, the *Caravan* of Merchants which come from *Cabull*, ended their voyage, and a new *Caravan* setteth forth from thence to go to *China*. But our Brother remained here (first) many months, expecting the time of their departure, and having in the meane time made himselfe known to the King of the country, he obtained letters of favour and recommendations, to all places whither he should go.

The time therefore being come, he departed with ten horses, for to carry himself, his companion and his goods in company of the whole *Caravan* toward *Chathaya*, that is *China*, in the moneth of November the year following; and having travelled 25 dayes with a great deale of difficultie, over stones and sand, he came to the City of *Aesu*, part of the Kingdom of *Cascar*: after having passed a desert, called *Caracathai*, that is, Black-earth, and gone through many Cities, at length he came to a City called *Cialis* in the same Kingdom of *Cascar*. Here whilest he fitted himself for his journey, there arrived Merchants which came from *China*, of whom Brother *Benedict* learned some tydings of the City of *Pekim*, and of our Fathers, which had been there seen by these *Saracen* Merchants. So that he was satisfied, that *Cathaya* was nothing else but *China*; and the royall City, named by the *Sarasens* *Gambalú*, was *Pekim*. From this City of *Cialis*, *Benedict* departing with a few in company, came in twenty dayes to *Pucian*, and afterwards to *Turphan*, *Aramuth*, and *Camul* the last City of the Kingdome of *Cialis*. From *Camul* after nine dayes journey, they came to the wall of *China*, at a place called *Chiacuon*: and so had entrance into *China*, which he sought under the name of *Chathaya*. Excepting therefore eleven dayes journey, which was through a country peopled by Tartars, all the rest of his voyage was through countries inhabited by Moors, or *Mahumetans*.

Now to return to our story : with these *Caravans* come Embassadours, which the Princes of the Moors send to the King of *China*, making every three yeares a small Embassie, in respect both of the Persons and the presents ; and every five yeares a great one. The most part of the *Caravan* remaine in the two above-named Cities ; (which are upon the *Frontiers*) trafficking there with their Merchandise, The others go to comply with their charge, and to offer the present in the name of five Kings, which are the Kings of *Rume*, *Arabia*, *Camul*, *Eamarcam*, *Tursan* ; The first four know nothing of this Embassie: the fifth, although he know of it, doth not make the present, nor send the Embassie, but hath only this advantage, that he nameth the Embassadors. The present is made by the Merchants among themselves, & these coming to the Vice-roy of those part, the King hath advice given him of their arrival by a paper, called a *memoriall* or *petition*: as soone as they have leave from the Court, and that their names are inrolled, there depart 40. or 50. of them, besides many more added to them ; who, to have leave to enter into the kingdome to trade, & to eate at the Kings expenses, give the captaine a Bribe of about a hundred or six-score crownes a man. There goeth a long with them a *Mandarine*, who entertaineth them of freecost, while they travell : But if they make any stay (as they did in the *Metropolis* of the province, for more than three monthes space) the Kings expense ceaseth, but not the benefit of their traffique, for all that while they follow their Merchandise.

The Merchandise which they bring, are Salt-*Armoniak*, fine Azure, fine linnen, carpets, called *Raisins*, knives, and other small things. The best and greatest Commodity is a certain stone, called *Yaca*, which they bring from the Kingdom of *Yauken*; the worst is of a whitish colour, the finest is green, it hath been of great price formerly in *China*, and is still of good value. They make thereof diverse sorts of Jewels for the ornament of the head, and it is much used in the palaces: the girdle, which the King giveth to the *Colai* is embrodered with the finest sort thereof; which no other is allowed to use in this ornament. That which they carry back in exchange of their commodities is *Porcellane*, *Rubies*, Musk, raw-silk, silk-stuffes, diverse other rarities and medicinall drugges, as *Rubarb*, And this I do imagine is the same which is transported from *Persia* to these parts.

The Embassadours being arrived, they offer their present, which consisteth of a thousand *Arrabas* of this precious stone: (whereof we have spoken) which maketh 1333. Italian pounds, whereof 300. pounds are of the finest sort, 340. horses, which are to be left upon the frontier, 300. small poynted Diamonds, twelve *Cattes* of fine Azure, which is about 100. Italian pounds, 600. knives, & as many files. The last present seeming to me improper to be presented to a King, I enquired what use the King made of them, but I could not meet any one was able to inform : only a Captain told me, that it was a very ancient thing for that present to be composed of such things, with so much infallibility they durst not make any alteration. Of the rest of the commodities which they bring, if the King desireth any thing, he sendeth to see and buy it. At their return the King rewardeth them with two pieces of cloth of gold for each horse ; 30. pieces of yellow silk, 30. pound of *Chá*, ten of Musk, 50. of a medicine called *Tienyo*, and

and as many of Silver. These *Saracens* told me, that the present, which they gave the King, was not in their country worth above 7000 Crownes, but what was given them by the King for their Embassie and voyage, was noe lesse worth then 50000 Crownes: a pretty good gayne, but ordinary from those Princes.

From this Province goeth another Caravan for the powerful Kingdom of *Tibet*; which carryeth diverse things, in particular, Silk-stuffs, *Porcellane* and *Chá*. *Chá* is a leafe of a tree, about the bignesse of *Mirtle*; in other Provinces, of the hearbe *Basil*; and in others, of the small *Pomgranat*. They drie it over the fire in iron-sives, where it hardens and sticketh together. There is of many sorts of it, as well because the plant is various, as also that the upper leaves do exceed the other in fineness; a property almost of all plants. There is of it, from a Crown a pound to four farthings according to the quality of it, there being so many differences thereof. It being thus dried and cast into warme water, it giveth it a colour, smell and tast, at the first unpleasing, but custome makes it more acceptable. 'Tis much used in *China* and *Giappone*, for it serveth not only for ordinary drink in stead of water, but also for entertainment to strangers when they visit them, as wine doth in the Northern parts; it being throughout all those kingdoms esteemed a wretched niggardlinesse to give only good words to those that come to their house, although they be strangers: at least they must have *Chá*; and if the visit be any thing long, there must be added some fruit or sweet-meates: sometimes they lay the cloath for this, and when not, they set it in two dishes upon a little square table. Many vertues are related of this leaf: certain it is, that it is very wholesome; and that, neither in *China* nor *Giappone*, there is any troubled with the stone, nor is so much as the name of this disease known: from whence may be inferred, how great a preservative against this evill the use of this drink is: it is also certain, that it powerfully delivereth from the oppression of sleep, whosoever desireth to watch, either for necessitie or pleasure; for by suppressing the fumes it easeth the head without any inconvenience: and finally it is a known and admirable help for students. For the rest I have not so great an assurance of it that I dare affirm it.

There is found also in this Province a most evident signe of the ancient Christianitie, which hath been there, as we shall relate in its order.

In the great Metropolis thereof we have a Church and a house, with a well founded and fruitfull Christianity; by whom also many particular Oratories are frequented.

Riansi is the third of these six Northern Provinces, which we are now discoursing of: It lyeth in the Latitude of thirty eight degrees; it hath many mountaines, which makes their Harvett but poore: there is little wheate, lesse Rice, but most Maiz: it is so abundant in grapes, that it serveth the whole Kingdome with Raisins, and might furnish, at least, it selfe, with wine; as it succeeds in a Residence, which we have there, where we make now only enough for to serve the *Masses*, but send also sufficient to the next Residencies. It hath wells of fire for the use of their houses as we have of water in *Europe*, they seeme to be Mines of sulphur set on fire; so that opening a little the mouth of the well, which must not

See a larger discourse of the ordering of this leaf, and of the many vertues of the drink in the voyage and missions of Alexander d Rhodes (printed at Paris 1653: 1 part. 13 cap. its called also Tay.

be very large, it sendeth forth so great a heate, that they rost and boyle therewith whatsoever meate they desire. Their ordinary fewell, as likewise in all the confines thereof, Stone-coale, not small ones, such as are found in some of our Countries of *Europe*; but of a very considerable bignesse: There are Mines very fruitfull of this matter, which burneth with a great deale of ease. In some parts, as *Pekim* and *Honam* they lay it together in such manner, that the fire lasteth day and night; They make use of Bellowes to kindle it.

We have a house and a Church in the City of *Kiamcheu*, another in that of *Phucheu*; which are visited at their set times; both the one and the other have a good and numerous Christianity, and among them, many of the Nobility. There are not wanting Oratories, (as in other Cities,) by which the scarcety of Churches is supplied.

The fourth Province which is *Xamtun*, in the Latitude of 23. degrees, lying betwixt *Nankim* and *Pekim*, is very poore; it suffereth many times a loathsome and malignant Infestation by *Grillo's* or field-Crickets, and by consequence, the terrible horror of famine.

In the yeare 1616 a dogge bought to be eaten, was worth more than a young man sold for a slave; it produceth store of Cattell, and of our fruits; great peares, many and good. There groweth here in great number and varietie a fruit, which seemed to some of us to be a peare of a good kind, in so great aboundance, that filling the Kingdom, they overflow even to *Macao* although it be a great way off; and that there are three large Provinces betwixt.

Pekim is the fift Province, scituated in the Latitude of forty degrees; it enjoyeth the priviledge of having the Court in a City of the same name. Though the proper name of it be *Xunthienfu*: by the *Sarances* called, *Lambalud*. This good fortune befell it, (for so I may call it) at the death of *Humvu*, when a nephew of his, named *Vunlo*, who dwelt in this Province, and was very potent, usurped by violence the crowne against the right heire: And so confiding more in them, with whom he had alwaies lived, as also to be the better able to make resistance against the *Tartars* which border upon him, he removed the Court from *Nankim* and planted it here. The people are lesse ingenious, as commonly all Northern people are, but more apt for labour and warre.

The soyle is very drie, and favourable for health, but barren of fruits for the common sustenance: But this want is supplied by that generall prerogative of Courts which draw all to them, and overcome in this the proper nature of the place. It hath Maiz, Wheate, and little Rice, only for the use of the people of the Palace, which is very numerous, the *Mandarines* and Souldiers being many thousands. The King keepeth in those rivers a thousand vessels, flat-bottom'd by reason of the shallownesse of the water, which only serve for the bringing of victualls to Court; which they lade in the South: And in *Nankim* there is sown a certaine Rice for the King in particular, of such a quality, that being sodde in water, without any other addition it maketh a very savoury dish.

The City is not so big as *Nankim*, but in that presse of people much exceedeth it; in a word, it is like the Court of so powerfull a Prince. The walls

walls are broad enough for twelve horses to go a breast; They are guarded night and day, as well in time of peace, as if there were warre. At every gate they keep a continuall watch, which is the profit of the *Eunuchs*, which the Queen alloweth them for their wages; and they make good store of crownes of this exercise: For all those which enter, and bring any thing with them, pay toll; and those of *Cantone* are used with most rigour, just like *Spanyards* in a french Inne: I know not the reason of this, but only a certaine indignation, which they have against them.

The Magistrates of this Court are quite contrary to those of other crownes, and Commonwealths of the world, and are therefore a patterne of that uprightnesse, which ought to be found in all: I meane, concerning the pompe and equipage of their persons, which is very moderate. They are not allowed to be carried in a Sedan, or Chaire, unlesse it be some few of more particular dignity: The greatest part ride on horse-back, and because they are ill horsemen, their horses are guided by two servants, that go by them, one on each side the horse, least their master should fall.

Each Judge of a Village, without the precincts of the Court, use more state, than the most eminent Ministers in the Court: They walke in the streets with their faces cover'd, as well by reason of the dust, which is very much, as also for convenience, and to avoid both expence and ceremony with the *Mandarinesse*; for not being knowne, they dissemble, as if they saw them not, and make no stay; to verify that *Axiome*, that where one is least knowne, there is more pleasure and convenience to be enjoyed.

The cold, which this Countrie suffereth, is much greater than could be expected from the Latitude of 40. degrees. The rivers and lakes are so hard frozen over, that they drive Carts over them without any danger; they make use of stoves, that are more convenient than ours, and waft not so much fewell, conveying the heate by pipes laid under ground; and so within doores enjoy a pleasant spring in the heart of winter. The same heate supplieth also the absence of the sun, and by meanes thereof the trees are clothed with leaves and flowers before their time.

In the Court we have a faire Church, built after the fashion of *Europe*, and a house wherein reside 4 fathers by licence from the King, and are in much esteeme with all the Magistrates.

Besides the Churches in all the places we have already spoken of, (the greater part whereof are large Cities,) there are also many other habitations of Christians, which have their Oratories, which are visited by us at set times, Catechizing and Baptizing the new Christians, conferring and administering the Holy Sacraments to the others.

The sixt and last Province is *Leaotum* the Northern bound of that Kingdome, it is famous for a roote which it produceth of so high esteeme, that at my departure from thence it was sold for twice the weight in silver. It is so excellent a medicine, that if those which are in health doe take it, it augments their strength and vigour, and if it be given to a sick person it doth marvellously comfort and warme him: it is called *Ginsem*. This Province being the frontire next Tartarium, is much wasted, and is in part possessed by the *Tartors*: here is seen that famous wall so much

talked off, which runneth nine hundred miles in length, with more reputation than effect : for besides that its owne greatnesse and extant is enough to make it ruinous, the enemy hath now reduced it to a miserable condition.

CHAP. 4.

*Of the persons of the Chineses : of their nature,
wit and inclination.*

THe people of *China* are, white, like us in *Europe* ; although in the Province of *Cantone*, lying something within the Tropick they are of something a browner colour, and particularly in the Islands that lie neere the maine land. And because those which come hither are only such as are borderers upon *Macao* (the Centre of those Islands) some have been perswaded that there were not in all that Kingdome any people very white : but it is certaine, that excepting the confines of *Cantone*, where they are something brown, the rest are all white, not unlike to the whitenesse of the people of *Europe* ; and by how much the more Northward one goeth, by so much the more (as is usually seen) is the whitenesse the greater.

They suffer the haire of their heads to grow as long as it will, both men and women. They are generally all black-haired ; hence cometh that name, by which this Kingdome is called among other Nations the Kingdome of the black-hair'd people : they have also black eyes, which are very little, little noses, and neither large, nor high ones, as among us ; which forme they like not, accounting it a deformity. They have but little beard for the most part, nor doe they care to have much, although some of them have so. They delight to have it black, which is the most ordinary colour ; although some few have red beards ; which although it be not abhorred by all as among the *Thebanes*, yet it is not esteemed or liked among them by any. They clippe not their beard, letting it grow according to nature. They will be more troubled to loose one haire of their head, then all the haire of their face : They doe also, in neatnesse and curiosnesse about their haire, exceed all other Nations. They have for this purpose many Barbers, of whom it may properly be said, that they usurp that name ; it being deriyed from the beard, which they never touch ; employing all their diligence and art in kembering and cleansing the head.

The young children are better proportioned, and have a more pleasing Simmetry of beauty than the rest : and this more particularly in the Southern Provinces. But some places have the advantage in this above others ; as in the Province of *Nankim*, the City of *Nanchen*, where the women are esteemed to have the preheminnence of all others in beauty ; as formerly in *Portugall*, those of the Towne of *Guimaranes*, from hence the rich men and the Magistrates provide themselves with Concubines : and so
this

this gift of nature cometh to be of greater esteeme for their sakes, who are the great men of the world. As their age beginneth to decline, from 25 to 30 yeares old, they loose not only much of the liveliness of their colour, but also of the Symmetry and proportion of their shape: so that ordinarily they become ill-favoured. The disposition of their body is good; their strength vigorous; and they are great pains-takers: hence it cometh, that their land, which is very good, is by art brought to be much more fruitfull, and if there be any which is not good, although it be never so little (there being not a foot of ground, which is unemployed) by force of industry they bring it at length to be fruitfull.

As I passed by *Honum*, I saw one ploughing with a plough of 3 Irons, or plough-sheares, so that at one bout he made 3 furrowes: and because the ground was good for that seed, which we call here *Feazols* or Kidney-beanes; this seed was put as it were, in a bushel, or square dish fastened upon the upper part of the plough, in such manner, that with the motion thereof the Beanes were gently scattered upon the earth as corne falleth upon the Millstone, at the mooving of the Mil-hopper; so at the same time the land is plowed & sown with hopes of a future crop. Wheat, Barly and Maiz they sow as we do; & it is very ordinary for one that driveth a beast laden, to carry a load himself, that none might want employment.

They are watchfull to make their advantage of every thing, not suffering any thing to be lost, how unprofitable soever it seemeth: you may meet often upon a river many vessels of considerable burthen; laden only with weeks for lamps, made of the pith of rushes, taken out with a great facility and dexterity; others, which carry nothing else but paper (give me leave to relate it, because it is a notable argument of the Providence and application, which they make in the use of all things) for cleanliness in their houses of office. This is sold in the streets as well as in shops, and may in no manner have any thing written upon it, for if it have any letters upon it, it is among them accounted sacrilege to imploy it to that use. But as the number of the people is so great, there are not wanting also among them idle persons and vagabonds, a common and irremediable plague,

They are naturally inclined to be Merchants, and it is incredible, the Traffick which they make, not only from one Province to another, with very great profit (so that they which transport *Porcellane* within their own Kingdom, although they sell it but from one Province to another, gaine thirty *per Cent.* twice a year) but even in the same City: For almost whatsoever is found in the shoppes, is sold in the streets in a lesser quantity; employing in this trade even to little children, as far as they are able, as selling fruit, herbs, wash-bals, and such like things.

The rich Merchants are of good credit, and very punctuall, (as the *Portugheeses* have had experience for many yeares together;) but their way of bargaining is fuller of craft, and subtilty, than is to be found any where else in the world: for whereas strangers are not allowed to enter into the Kingdom, they are all necessitated to treat with the *Chineeses* in this manner. First they agree about the quality of the commodity, which each desireth whether it be gold, Silk, or *Porcellane*, or any thing else

else; when they are agreed of the price, presently the *Portuguese* consigneth to him a summe of money, as of 15. or 20. thousand; (or more) Crownes. Then the *Chinese* goeth with this money to such parts of the Kingdome where the commoditie may be had, which the other desireth, and returneth with it to *Cantone*, where the *Portuguese* stayeth expecting him. This manner of merchandising was practised for many yeares without any fraud; but a little while since there hath not been wanting some who have used deceit therein. And at this day the credit thereof is diminished; as I beleeve, through the fault of both Nations.

Neverthelesse, the nature of the people and inclination of the whole nation, as well in those who sell, as those who buy, is much inclined to guile and deceit, which they put in execution with admirable subtletie. They will take the flesh from off the breast of a partridge, and fill up the hollow place with some other thing, and stitch up the cut, whence it was taken out, and all with so much mastery and skill, that if the buyer be not an *Argus*, (and if he were, he shall finde no remedy) in stead of a partridge, he shall buy nothing but feathers and bones. Amongst true Gammons of Bacon they will foist in others made of wood, but so like, that they will easily deceive the sight for good ones. It is an ordinary thing to fat up an old horse, and sell him for a young one; and what is more, to paint him over with beautifull spots, so well done, as if they were naturall, choosing for the time of sale, the doubtfull light of the day towards the dusk of the evening, that the deceit may be the hardlier discovered: This cheate was put upon one in *Macao*, who notwithstanding was an experienced buyer, and of good judgement.

The bewitching art of extracting the elements and principles from barren stones and hardest mineralls, which is spread through all parts of the universe, hath gained many practitioners in *China*; They are passionately addicted to the art of *Alchimy*, with this opinion, that he that hath the art of making silver, is in the way to find the receipt of prolonging life, unto extream old age. And how long will men give themselves over to this fond perswasion, deceived with a vaine hope of obtaining these two things, so much desired, so uncertaine? Many take great paines in this art, although they lose much and gaine little; contrary to that which succeeds in all other trades, which is, to gaine much out of a little. Finally, either these men deceive themselves, or find themselves deceived by the professors of this science, who are often uncertaine and varying in their *Maximes*, which ought to be reall and constant; so that the event is alwaies dangerous and uncertaine. Many there are, which are followers of it, hoping to make gaine by their deceit, because they dare not rely upon the certainty of their art.

There was one of these, which in *Pekin* offered himselfe to a Magistrate, promising him great matters from his art. Covetous persons are ordinarily credulous. He furnisht him with materials to make his operation, amongst which the other secretly conveyed a piece of silver, which he privily carryed about him to that intent, the ignorant Magistrate was well pleased with the product of it, he seeming to him a true sonne of art. Then the work-man faining to have great occasion to goe to another place, desired

desired leave of him for some dayes, which the Magistrate with much ado consented to, because his covetous desire, being inflamed by that experiment, could not brooke a long absence; But the *Alchymyst*, (that used to fish in the silver seas of *Hydropicall* covetousnesse with those deceitfull nets, with which he long entertained their hopes, but brought them in no profit) was absent three whole yeares: at the end of which being returned to *Pekim*, he maketh, as if he knew not the house of this his friend, though he often passed by the doore; but being discovered by the Magistrate, he calls him in; who still persisteth in his dissimulation of not knowing him. The Magistrate questions him concerning the art, whereof he had made him an experiment: The other confessed, that he knew the art, but did not remember to have practised it in that place; alledging for his excuse, that as he had done it in many places, so he could not remember them all. But without much intreatie, promised to doe it againe, to that intent the Magistrate giveth him 500. crownes to furnish him with a sufficient store of materialls: Then the *Alchymyst*, without asking leave as before, conveyeth himselfe away, and never appeareth more. But for all these experiences there are still enough, which doe hunt after this art.

But returning to our *Chineses*, they are Affable, courteous, and of good conversation: and therefore in this particular our men are not to be beleaved, which dwell only in *Macao* and *Cantone*, because they are there, as it were, in a continuall warr, by reason of the daily contracts and contentions, which are betwixt the servants of the *Portugesses* and *Chineses*; besides buying and selling produceth frequent disgusts; and if those of *Macao* do beare with them, because they cannot help it, it is alwayes with hope to be paid with interest from those of *Cantone*, when they come thither by occasion of the fairés: and so there cannot be a friendly and just traffick betwixt them, but they do treat one another almost like enemies.

But in the other Provinces and innermost parts of the Kingdom, as we have said, they converse with us with so much respect and *decorum*, that in all meetings with them they give us the first place, upon no other pretence, but that we are strangers, and as they call us *Guests* of a remote *Climate*. In cases of necessity, (which we have many times proved) they will not faile to lend us what we aske, although it be more worth than the pawnes we give them; and that without interest.

I am sure there cannot be a worser sort of people, than is found in their prisons, for thither the dregs of the whole Common-wealth are drained, neverthelesse, we have found courtesie at the hands of those wretches, who in such places use to be very inhumane. Upon occasion of the persecution which we suffered in the year 1616. our fathers found in those prisons much respect and correspondence, and when the Officers of the prison for feare of the Tyrant, did bind them and use them harshly: it was alwaies with a great resentment of the prisoners; who not enduring to see them streightned with manacles upon their wrists, did make them wider for them by burning them (their manacles being made of wood) with hot irons.

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After a long time, these fathers being to be released from one of these prisons, the prisoners consulted among themselves how to shew them some courtesie: and collecting what they were able, they entertained them with a banquet, which was more acceptable to the fathers, to see so much Humanity and kindnesse towards strangers among Pagans, which were kept in that place, for the chastisement of their crimes and ill manners, than for the good treatment they received. Thus much will sufficiently demonstrate the naturall courtesie and civility of this Nation.

Among them, all acts of cruelty are much abhorred; wherefore among their punishments there is not used that ordinary inhumanitie and severity, which is among us, as Quartering; Tearing with pincers; dragging with horses; and racking. He that deserveth death, is either beheaded, or strangled.

In the yeare 1614, in the City of *Nankim*, an ordinary fellow with more than ordinary insolence did aspire to the *Empire*. He had already listd much people, and distributed offices among them, giving order, to cut off the heads of all the *Mandarines* in one day appointed for their *Rendezvous*. When the conspiracy was discovered by a male-content, that was ill satisfied with his allotment, there was, upon this occasion, imprison'd almost an infinite company of people, which were discover'd by the Tyrants own book, wherein he kept a list of the conspiratours: the king having notice of it, gave speedy order, that no more should be imprisoned: by a second order he commandeth, that only thirty of the most guilty should remaine in prison for the space of 30. daies with their heads in the stocks, and that at the end of 30. daies, whosoever of them remained alive should not be put to death. (There escaped only two of them;) which is strange, that for so enormous a wickednesse, there was appointed no greater punishment.

When many are condemned to die, they are kept in prison till the visitour of the Province calleth them before him; and perusing the list of them he appointeth 5, 6. or 7. of them to be executed: if he exceedeth this number, they give him the name of *Cruell*: The rest are sent back to prison.

They are inclined to vertue; I doe not say they are exempt from vices, proper to all Pagans, and indeed to all Mortalls; But that they esteeme those, which make profession of vertue, and particularly of some vertues, which are dispised by other *Gentiles*; as, Humility, Virginity, Chastity; and this last is in such esteeme, that if a maiden, or young widdow, lead a single life with that *Caution* and other vertues requisite to it, they are wont to erect *Triumphall Arches* to them, and celebrate their memorie with publick and magnificent prayses and *panegyricks*.

Their manner of *entertainment* and *complements* are so *Ceremonious*, that there seemes to be no end of them; and are more proper for *divine worship*, than humane conversation. This is to be understood of their *visites*, and their meetings and incounters, where respect is to be shewen: for amongst kindred and friends they treat one another more familiarly. They are so composed in their garb, and wary in their words, that nothing can cause an open difference betwixt persons

persons of *quality* one against the other, although both of them may bear a secret spleen and grudging. Hence it is, that capitall enemies may be seen together at *Banquets*, or other publick meetings without the least shew of *enmity*, dissembling it dexterously and couragiously under the *punctilioes* of civility and honour.

They magnifie very freely and readily whatsoever is vertuous in the Actions of their neighbours, couragiously beating down that emulation, which in almost all other nations suffereth none to be pleased with any but themselves. When they see any thing which cometh from *Europe*, although there be in it little art or ingenuity, it is by them commended with singular applause; and many times with this expression, O, say they, *These people are not like to us, dul and un-ingenious*. And sometimes of manufactures made in their own Kingdom, with which by reason of the vastness thereof, they are unacquainted, they will say, that they were not made there, but brought from *Europe*. A modesty indeed worthy to be envied; and so much the more because it is seen in a people that exceed many others in their abilities, to the shame of those Nations, which have no eyes to see, but such as are infected with the disparagement of what they behold.

They are not lesse ingenious *Mechanicks*, than the *Manufactures*, which come from thence, shew them to be, although all which come, are not made by the best Masters.

They are very excellent in workes of *Ivory*, *Ebony* and *Amber*, especially in Eare-Jewels, pendants, and gallantries of Gold and Silver, for the ornament of women. They make chaines to admiration. There was one brought from thence to *Goa*, which consisting of 300 links, weighed not 3 ounces of gold, and the work was so fine and small, that the links were hardly to be discerned. They have altogether relinquisht to *Europe* to be served in plate, there being scarce found among them a vessel of Silver of a considerable bignesse, no not in the *Emperors palace*; being content to eat in *Porcellane*, which is the only vessel in the world for neate and delightfull cleanliness. Their Gold-thread is of lesse weight and worth than ours; they have a way of twisting of it about paper, which maketh it seem, as if it were right and massie, and is an admirable Artifice.

The workmanship of *Europe*, which they most admired, were our clocks; but now they make of them such as are set upon tables, very good ones, and will be able to do the like in small ones, if the price of them there did equall ours. Although they make some things, whose price would be excessive if we should cause them to be made here, Notwithstanding in the generall we do much exceed them in *manufactures* and *mechanick Arts*, except it be in that same *Charam*, which is indeed a singular Artifice.

It cannot be denied, but that they are a people of an admirable Acutenesse, so that that may be worthily appropriated to them, that *Aristotle* so freely bestoweth upon all the people of *Asia*; saying, that *Asia* exceeded *Europe* in ingenuity; but was exceeded by *Europe* in valour; this beeing a thing so approved to us by experience.

There are many, which even to this day do call the *Chineses*, *Barbarians*,

ans as if they spake of the *Negroes* of *Guynæa*, or the *Tapuyi* of *Brasile*. I have blusht to hear some stile them so, having been taught the contrary by many years travels among them. Although the fame and manufactures of *China* are sufficient to teach it us, it beeing now many years that we have heard the one; and seen the other. 'Tis a great shame truly: but although in this relation there are many things, which might satisfie us concerning the subtilty of their wit, yet I wil give you one example in this following case:

A certain *Chaquen*, (that is, a visitour of a Province, one of the most important *Employments* of the Kingdom) receiving of his visits, after a few daies were over, shut up his gates, and refused to admit any further their businesse or visits; pretending for his excuse, that he was sick; This accident being divulged; a certain *Mandarine*, a friend of his, began to be much troubled at it; and with much ado obtained leave to speak with him. When he was admitted, he gave him notice of the discontent, that was in the City, by reason that businesse were not dispatched: the other put him off with the same excuse of his sicknesse: I see no signes of it, replied his friend; but if your *Lordship* will be pleased to tell me the true cause, I will serve you in it, to my utmost power, conformable to that affection I bear you in my heart: know then, replied the *Visitour*, They have stollen the Kings seale out of the Cabinet where it used to be kept, leaving it locked, as if it had not been touched; so that if I would give audience, I have not where withall to seale dispatches. If I should discover my negligence in the losse of the seale I shall loose, you know, both my *Government* and my life; so that I know not what to do, unlesse it be to stand in suspence, as I do, the which is but little avail to me, being more sensible than the people themselves, of this delay of justice. Well perceived the *Mandarine* how terrible the occasion of his retirement was; but presently making use of the quickness of his wit, asked him if he had never an enemy in that City: he answered him, yes; and that it was the chief Officer of that City, that is the *Chifu* or governour, which of a long time had borne a concealed malice against him. Away then, quoth the *Mandarine*, in great hast, let your *Lordship* command that all your goods be removed to the innermost part of the palace, and let them set fire on the empty part, and call out for help to quench the fire: to which the governour must of necessity repair with the first, it being one of the principall duties of his office. As soon as you see him among the people, call out to him aloud, and consign to him the *Cabinet*, thus shut as it is; that it may be secured in his possession from the danger of the fire: for if it be he which hath caused the seale to be stollen, he will put it in his place again, when he restores you the cabinet; if it be not he, your *Lordship* shall lay the fault upon him for having so ill kept it; and your *Lordship* shall not only be freed from this danger, but also revenged of your enemy. The visitour followed his counsel, and it succeeded so well, that the next morning, after the night this fire was, the governour brought him the seale in the cabinet; both of them concealing each others fault, equally complying for the conservation of both. Now if after this example the *Chineffes* must passe for *Barbarians* as those would have it, who have forced me to relate this story,





The true Portraiture of a Mandarin or Governour in China,
and of the Lady his Wife . being exactly copied from two Statues brought
from Macao by Captⁿ William Bradbent . /

story, it must be upon the same account, on which others have said as much of *Moses*.

CHAP. 5.

Of the manner of their habit.

THE materials, of which they make severall sorts of stuffs and cloaths for the service of their persons, as cloathing, Beds, and other furniture of their houses, are wooll, convasse, (for they have no other sort of linnen as I have formerly hinted) silk and cotton: of all which they have great abundance. Two hundred years before Christ they used garments with short sleeves, such as the *Giapponeses* use at this day; who are descended of them, and still conserve this ancient habit. This manner of garment continued here, untill the reign of *Hoan*: in the time of this King, who is much renowned amongst them, (about 400 years after Christ,) that habit was altered, as well in the people, as the Officers, to that fashion which is worn at this day: and is the very same throughout the whole Kingdom, although it consist of so many and so large Provinces: nor can it be altered (no more than any other notable custome among them) without the Kings particular Order. For these people, which we call *Barbarians*, have very well understood, that the changing of fashions and customes in a Nation for those of strange Countries, is as it were, a presage that that Country will at length be brought into subjection to that other, of whose fashions and manners they are so enamoured: and we might for prooffe hereof, (if there were occasion) name some particular Countries among us.

These fashioned garments have been conserved for so many yeares; and reach from the neck to the feet, being all open before; These are for their under garments, and are made for to fit closer to their bodies. Their upper garments are large and wider in compasse. And because they use no buttons, they lap them before, one side over another, as our *Clergie* men doe their *Cassocks*. Their sleeves are very wide, and the whole garment without any trimming. A piece of white Tassatie of the length of ones hand serveth them for a band; when it is foule, they take it off, and put on another. This is only to be understood of the *Literati*, or learned men, and the people of quality; for the common sort of people are not suffered to weare it.

The young men weare indifferently all sorts of colours; but the *Ancient* men do weare alwaies the most modest. The common people for the most part are cloathed in black; as all sorts of servants, who are bound not to alter that colour.

Those who are *Governours*, or have *Governed*, upon occasion of *Feasts*, do weare garments of the finest red. The rich men change their garments at all the 4 seasons of the year; and the inferiour sort, (although poore) twice a year, at winter and summer: and upon this occasion many pawn

that garment, which they weare in one season to furnish themselves with a garment for the next.

Because their haire is their chiefe gallantrie, we will speak here a word or two concerning it. Their youth ; till seventeen years of age, leave the shortest part of their haire hanging loose, the other they combe back to the top of their head ; where they tie it up in a knot. After that, age they weare a net of horse-haire, which is like unto our Cawles, under which they gather up all their haire, not suffering one haire to hang out : on the top of this they all weare caps, the *Literati* square caps, the rest of the people, round : they are all made of silk, or else of horse-haire, which by reason of the workmanship come often to be more costly than the other. They are alwaies to be black, unlesse it be in the winter, when they weare them of felt, & are always gray, or else of the naturall colour of the wooll. At the first time any one putteth on his Cawle, it is done with a particular solemnitie, as we were wont anciently, at the first putting on of the cloake or sword. For shoes, they know no other materialls, but silk of all sorts and colours, for the rich ; and for the poore, cotton : they are differing from ours in shape, and in the cost, which is bestowed upon them, having many little works wrought on them with the needle. Skins are used only for bootes, which are rarely seen there. The richer and better sort of the people weare hose of *Damaske* or *Sattin*, or any sort of white silk ; the rest of white *Cotton*. They weare breeches generally, both men and women. This is the habit of this ample Kingdome, being as large almost as all *Europe*, which hardly keepeth constant to its owne fashions, in any of its smallest Provinces.

The women are decently habited with the same coates, (if I may so call them) which the men use ; wearing them close about their necks. Even the ordinary sort of women are very curious in dressing their heads, adorning their haire with flowers, as well naturall as artificiall ; having in this art a competition with nature ; and with the varietie of colours, the forme and figure of them they do as happily deceive the eyes of the beholders, as the grapes of *Zeuxes*, did the sparrowes ; or to expresse it better, as the curtaine of *Parrhasius* deceived *Zeuxes*.

The women of the better quality use gold and silver, the *Courtesans*, or *publique* women are not suffered to weare them ; and it is a distinction to know them by, what they are, that they are not allowed to weare any ornament on their heads (contrary to the custome of other Countries) nor to have their houses within the walls. The rest of their under-garments are the same both in men, and women, only their shoes are so little, that one might reasonably doubt, whether so small feete could belong to a humane body growen to a full stature : The reason of this is, that from their very infancy they swathe their childrens feet, so streightning them to hinder their growth ; and not (as we say in *Europe*) because they are not suffered to goe : and although it be the common opinion, that it is a great part of beauty to have little feet ; yet the more understanding *Chineses* do hold this effeminacy to be a very great folly. It tooke its originall from one of their Queenes, who having ill-shapen feet, to mend that naturall defect, did swathe them, to bring them to a better forme : so that, what was necessity

necessitie in her (if it may be called a necessitie, to mend such feet, as might have served well enough without it) it came to be a gallantrie in all women by imitation of her: so much ought *Princes* to avoid the making of themselves *Authors* of ridiculous novelties.

The retirement of the women is very great. There is not a woman to be seen in the streets, although in yeares; or never so blamelesse in her life; neither are men suffered to visite them at their houses. That part of the house where they inhabit is, as it were, a sacred place, for their sakes. It is enough to tell any one who entereth unwillingly, *That there are women there*, to make him stop presently.

The men-servants may enter thither only while they are *little* boyes. Into the very chamber where they are, not so much as their kindred, are allowed to come, unlesse they be the younger brethren of the husband, of very small age; no not the husbands father; with so much punctualitie, that if upon some particular occasion he would chastise his son, (for although they are married, their fathers do chastise them, if they see cause) he retireth presently to his wives apartment, which is an inviolable *Sanctuary*; the father being not to enter thither. If the women go out to visite their parents, they are carried in *Sedans close shut*; and this is the custome of all their women, even to those of the most ordinary *qualitie*. If they go on pilgrimage to any of their *Idolls*, and that it be necessary, that they go part of the way on foot, they cover their faces with a vayle. If they go by water in the Barks with their Parents and kindred (as I saw once above 200. upon occasion of a *Pilgrimage*) they passe one before another without *speaking* a word; beleiving that the least overture that women give to the conversation of men is a large gate opened to the danger of their honour. This, which may be counted a harsh *Strictnesse*, is turned into a pleasaunt *Sweetnesse* by custome, (which maketh all things easie) as well for their repose, as for the peace and concord of the family.

Notwithstanding in so large a Country as *China*, this custome cannot equally be observed every where; so that in some parts, as I have above mentioned, the ordinary women go abroad as among us; but the women of quality alwayes observe that stile of retirednesse.

CHAP. 6.

Of their Language and Letters.

THE language which is used in *China* is of so great Antiquity, that many beleeve it to be one of the 72. which were at the Tower of *Babel*. At least it is manifest by their books, that it is more than 3700. years in use among them. It is various and different, because there are diverse Kingdoms, whereof this Empire is composed at this day; and anciently they did not belong unto this Crown; but were possessed by Barbarous Nations, as all the Southern Provinces and some of the Northern. But at this day the Language of *China* is but one only, which they call *Quonhoa*,
or

or the language of the *Mandarines*; for they at the same time, and with the same care and industrie, that they introduced their government into other Kingdomes, brought in likewise their language: and so at this day it runneth through the whole Country, as *Latin* doth through all *Europe*; but more universally each Province still retaining their naturall speech. It is a Language much limited; and as in the multitude of letters it exceedeth all others, so in scarceness of the nouns which it useth, it is the least copious of any: for it hath not in all about 326. and of words (which in reality are the same, but only differing in accent and aspiration) 1228. Almost all end in vowels, and those few, which do not terminate in vowels, end either in *M.* or *N.* They are all *Monosyllables*, all undeclined, as well verbs as nouns, and so accommodated to their use, that many times the verbe serveth for a noun, and a noun for a verb, and an adverb too, if need be. For which reason it is more easie to be learn'd than the *Latine*; the Grammar only whereof taketh up a child's whole time. The brevity of it maketh it full of æquivocal words, and for the same reason compendious. This which would be troublesome to some, is very pleasing to the *Chinenses*; who are most particular lovers of brevity in speech; being either imitators, or imitated by the *Lacedemonians*. It is rather sweet than harsh, and if it be spoken perfectly, (as it is for the most part, in *Nankim*) is very delightfull to the ear.

To say a thing with respect, with humility, and in applause of another's merits, they use many excellent termes and phrases, (which are the proprieties also of our *Portugesses* language.) And although it be a very narrow language, it is so sweet, that it exceedeth almost all others that I know. To say among us: *Take a thing*, either with the whole hand, or with some particular fingers thereof, we are forced still to repeat the verb take; but among them it is not so; each word signifieth the verb, and the manner too. As for example *Nien* to take with two fingers; *Tzo* to take with all the fingers; *Chuá* with the whole hand turned downwards; *Toie* with the hand having the fingers turned upwards; so likewise with the verb [*is*] as; he *is* in the house, he *is* eating, or *is* sleeping: they have a word, wherewith at once they expresse both that he is, and, how he is. We, to say, the foot of a man, the foot of a bird or the foot of any beast, are forced alwaies to specifie with the same word *foot*, but the *Chinenses* do it with one word: as *Kio* the foot of a man, *Chua* the foot of a bird; *Thi* the foot of any beast.

Their style in their writing is very different; from their discourse, although the words are the same: so that when one taketh the pen in hand for to write, he had need to raise up his wits; and it would be counted a ridiculous thing, to write as they speak ordinarily. This is the reason, that all their pointed or accented reading, orating, disputing, and perswading, as well in publick as in private, is alwayes first practised and exercised with the pen.

The letters which they use, seem to be as Ancient as the people themselves, for according to their histories it is since the Invention of them 3700. years to this present year 1640, in which I wrote this relation. I will be bold to say that this is one of the most admirable things in that Kingdom

Kingdome: for the number of their letters being excessive, almost all have some skill in them, at least as much as is sufficient for the exercise of their trades; and though they are proper only to *China*, yet they are used in all the neighbouring Kingdomes, every one reading them in their own language; as among us it is in the figures of numbers & of the starres, which are the same over all *Europe*; and yet every nation calleth them by different names. They are very proper for Embassies, Bills, and Bookes. These, although each Province have a different language, are common and understood of all, as if they had been written in their own language.

The Author of these is said to be *Fohi*, one of their first Kings. At the beginning they were fewer, and more simple, resembling, in some respect, the thing that was expressed by them; for that which is pronounced *Gè*, and signifieth the Sun, was written with a circle, and a Diametrall line through it. Afterwards the form was something varied, changing the circle almost into a square, having the same line through it, and doth still signify the Sun. This variety in making of their letters hath caused foure kinds of them. First the *Ancient*, which remaineth still in their Libraries, and is understood of all the *Litterati*, although it be no longer in use, except in some titles and scales, which they put in stead of Armes. The second is called *Chincè*, and is the most current, as well in manuscript, as printed bookes. The third they call *Taipiè*, and answereth to the running hand used among our publick Notaries, not much in use, unlesse it be in bills, contracts, pleadings, policies, and such like things. The fourth is so different from the rest, as well for the Abbreviations, (which are many,) as also for the different stroakes and shape of the letters, that it requireth a particular study to understand them. This word *Sie*, which signifieth to give thanks, is written after three most different manners.

Their letters are in all sixty thousand, enrolled in their *vocabulary*, which they call, *Haipien*, and may be rendred a *great sea*. They have others more brieve; For to read, write, compose, and understand very well, about eight or ten thousand letters will serve the turne: and when they meet with any letters, which they call a *cold letter*, they have recourse to their *vocabulary*, as we do, when we meet with a *Latin* word that we do not understand. From hence it is evident, that he is most learned amongst them, that knoweth most letters; as amongst us he is the best *Latinist*, that is most versed in his *Calipines-Dictionary*. To form all these multitude of letters, they use only nine strokes, or touches of the pen: but because these only would not be sufficient for so great a fabrique; they do joine figures, or perfect and significant letters, one into another; by which means they make other new and different ones, and of a different signification. So this line — signifieth one: crossed with another line \perp ten, and having another stroke at the bottome \pm signifying the earth, and with another stroke at the top of it \pm it standeth for King; adding a stroke on the left side of it between the two first strokes \pm it is taken for a precious stone, and by adding certaine other lines, it is meant for a pearle: And this last figure is every letter to have, that must signify a precious stone, or any other stone, that is of price and esteeme, although not

F. counted

counted precious. So every letter which signifieth any tree must have joyned with it the letter, which signifieth wood: and the letter that signifieth mettall, must be annexed to the figure which it is put to signify, as Iron, Copper, Steel; yet this is no infallible rule.

They have also, in the composition of their *Letters*, had respect to their significations: and so that square figure, which we spake of before, to signifie the *Sunne*, joyned with another very little different, standing for the *Moone*, is called *Min*, and signifieth Brightnesse. Another which hath the likenesse of a Portall, called *Muen*, signifieth a gate: there is another which signifieth a heart, to which it hath some resemblance. Now if this letter be placed between the two perpendicular lines, which form the letter that standeth for a Portall, it signifieth *Sadnesse* and *Affliction*, that is, a heart streightened and prest in a narrow doore: and every word of *Sadness* must have a heart annexed to it.

They who write well, are held in great esteeme; and they make more account of a good writing, than of a good picture. And for a set of ancient letters well shapen and formed, they do not care to spend a good summe of money: and letters from being first esteemed, have come at length to be revered. They cannot endure to see a written paper lying on the ground, but presently take it up; and in the childrens schooles there is a place appoynted for the keeping of them; and afterwards they burne them at certaine times, not out of religion, or superstition, as the *Turks* do, but only out of the reverence they beare to *Letters*.

Their way of writing is from the top of the paper downwards to the bottome, and beginning at the right hand of the paper proceed to the left, as the *Hebrewes* and all Eastern nations do.

They formerly made use of the inner barks of some trees in stead of paper, as other nations have done. For a stile or pen they used certaine *Bodkins* of Iron, with which they dexterously formed their *Letters*. They wrote also many things on *Lamins* or plates of mettall, and also on vessels of molten mettall; of which there are yet some remaining, which are held in no small esteeme by the owners, & all that see them. But it is now 1800 years since they have had the invention of paper, which is there of so many sorts & in so great plenty, that I am perswaded, that, in this, *China* exceedeth the whole world; & is exceeded by none in the goodnes thereof. That which aboundeth most, & is most used for printing, is made of a certaine Tree, which is called in *India*, *Bombu*, and in *China*, *Cio*, the art in making of it is like ours; but the best and whitest is made of Cotton-cloth.

In stead of pens they use pensills made of the haire of severall creatures: the best are of those of a *Hare*. They are more easie and convenient to write with than pens: the ordinary ones cost three, foure, or five farthings; the best come to six pence a piece. Their *standishes* are made of stone of severall formes, and are commonly handsomely wrought, and of a small price: yet they have some of thirty crownes a piece. In these they dissolve the inke, which is made up in little molds and dried: The best is made of the smoake of oyle, which they gather by art: it is sold at a small price commonly, the dearest being a crowne, or seven and six pence the pound; but the best of all from ten to twenty crownes. The *Artezans* which make it are not held for *Mechanicks*, so noble is this art esteemed by

by them. They use sometimes red ink, especially in their *Annotations* upon books: and sometimes (but very seldome) write with it. It is their greatest care and ambition to have all their instruments of writing to be of rich materials, neat, proper, and in good order, with the same pride and delight, as the most accurate Captain or Souldier among us taketh in his armes.

In printing, it seemeth that *China* ought to have the precedence of other nations: for according to their books they have used it this 1600 years; but it is not (as I said before) like unto ours in *Europe*. For their *Letters* are engraven in Tables of wood. The Authour of the book ordereth what kind of letter he will have, either great, little, or middle-sized; or rather he giveth his manuscript to the graver, who maketh his Tables of the same bignesse with the sheets that are given him; and pasting the leaves upon the Tables with the wrong side outwards, he engraveth the letters as he findeth them; with much facility and exactnesse, and without making any *Errata*: their writing not being on both sides the paper, as among us, but on one side only; and the reason, that their books seem to be written on both sides is, because the white side is hidden within the fold.

They print likewise with Tables of stone; with this difference, that then the paper is made all black, and the letters remain white; because when they print thus, they lay the ink upon the *Superficies* of the stone, but in the *Tables* of wood, they put it only in the hollow of the engraving. This last manner of printing serveth only for *Epitaphs*, Pictures, Trees, Mountains; and such like things, whereof they do desire to have the memories preserved; and they have very many prints of this kind. The stones which serve for this use, are of a proper and particular kind; their wooden Tables are made of the best Peare-tree. So that any work which they print (as they do in great numbers) remaineth alwaies entire in the print of the *Tables*, to bee reprinted as often as they please, without any new expence or trouble in setting for the presse, as there is in our printing. Every one hath the liberty to print what he pleaseth, without the *Supervising*, *Censure*, or *Licence*, of any one; and with so small charges, that for every hundred letters perfectly engraved in the manner abovesaid, they pay no more than foure pence half-penny; and yet every letter consisteth of many strokes.

CHAP. 7.

*Of their manner of study, and admittance
to examination.*

They are put to learn from their tender age. They have for beginners certain little bookes, containing good rules and precepts of verue, good manners, obedience to their parents and superiors, or some such like

matter. A few months after, they give them *Classicall* books, which they get all by heart, both the *Text* and the *Glosse*, as perfect as we do our *Pater Noster*. After this, commeth the Masters explanation. They say their lesson likewise by heart, the Scholars back being turned towards the master with the book lying open upon the table; and they use no other phrase for saying their Lesson, but only *Poixú*, which signifieth, to turn their back upon the book, and this is done, that they might not cast their eyes upon it to help themselves. They are kept to their studies with so much rigour, (even the youngest of them) that they are allowed no manner of recreation or divertisement.

Every day they write something, and their masters copy is laid under the paper, like the black line among us: and the paper being thinne and transparent, the letters easily appear through, which the boy that learneth doth easily imitate, forming other letters like those, which hee seeth under his paper; and by using this for some short time, he becometh accustomed to the fashion of his Masters hand, which he imitateth after this manner. Therefore after some time spent in this exercise, they write one line upon the Masters copy, and another upon the blank paper by the side of it; for, as I have said, the lines are made from the top of the paper to the bottome, till at length, when they can well imitate the copy, they give over writing upon it. In fine, they take very much paines to gain a good hand in writing; for, in their examinations, where their compositions are copied, it is sufficient to have their *Grace* denied, if there be but found one ill-shapen letter, before their exercise be read; they presuming, that no man can be learned, if he read, or write ill; although among us there be many examples to the contrary. For it is wel known, that the excellent Doctour *Navarro* wrought a very ill hand, & our *Bartolomeo Philippo*, a singular Scholar, writ so perfect an ill hand, that to the universall grief of all learned men, his most learned works were lost; although they were many, and no doubt, full of most admirable knowledge, because there was not found any one, that was able to read them; as may be perceived by those workes of his, that have escaped out of that pernicious *Chaos*.

Next, when the *Chineffes* have learned a good quantity of their letters, and have had some acquaintance with their books, they are instructed in the rules of composition. First, they give them some disordered compositions, which they are to reduce into order; then some abbreviations for them to enlarge upon, and afterwards in due time they give them only the point or Theme; in like manner they do, at their examinations. And because every three years the most approved compositions of those, who have taken degrees, are put in print, others take great paines in them, and get as many of them by heart as they are able,

They have no *Universities*, where they study together; but all, that are able, take a Master into the house for their sonnes, and sometimes two, if there be much difference between their childrens ages. This Master is alwaies with them without any interruption, and teacheth them not only letters and sciences, but whatsoever concerneth *Civill government*, good manners, moralitie, and the way how to carry themselves in every thing.

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If they are persons of *Quality*, the Scholar never goeth abroad without his Master, who serveth to instruct him in all *Civilities*, and good behaviour, particularly in visits; where, as there are many *Ceremonies* used, there is something of difficultie; and they might easily commit an error, if their Master did not help them. And without doubt, this way is most decent for their reputation, and more profitable for their studies, and lesse exposed to those venomous practises and company, which are apt to teach them such customs, as infect their minds; and spoile the *Decorum* of a *Gentleman*; and much more in *China*, where, if any one have this evill fame, he cannot be admitted to examinations.

There are nevertheless many Schools for children of a meaner condition; where the Masters have this good quality, that they receive no more than they are well able to teach, that they might not go from them, as if they had never come thither; as it falleth out too often in *Europe*, where each Master endeavoureth to have many Scholars, rather for his own gain than their advancement. For indeed a man, let him be never so able, is but still one man; whence it cometh to passe, that some of their Schollars know the School, but are not known of it. This inconvenience is avoided in *China*: each taketh no greater charge upon him, than he is well able to give an account of; and each Master admitteth no more Scholars, than he can well teach. He is with them all the day long, behaving himself with much gravitie; neither do they ever go out of the School, unlesse it be at meales; and if any one of them doth live far off, his dinner is brought to the School. Their play-daies and time of *vacation* are only fifteen daies at the beginning of the new year, and some few daies in the *fift* and *seventh* moon: and as there are there no *Holy-daies*, they make all the rest of the year an un-interrupted application to their studies. So sensible are they of this truth: That it is necessary to take very great paines to bee learned; and, that seldome any one passeth with the reputation of a knowing man, without much labour and industrie.

When they are grown up and past these rudiments, and their parents are not able to provide a master for each in particular; some of the kindred and neighbours joyne together, and take a master in common, who dyets with them day by day in course, and receiveth his *Salary* from them all, which is not much; but more or lesse according to the custome of the Countries, and may amount each year to 40 or 50 Crowns; the common *Salary* being from ten to twenty crownes: besides the presents which they makethem at certaine feasts, consisting of stockings, shoes, and such like things. At meals (although it be in the houses of persons of the greatest quality) they are to sit with the father of the scholar, or at least with the scholar himselfe. Many times they study not in their fathers house, having others more proper for that occasion, either within or without the City, but never farr off: and as much as they can, avoyd their owne houses, knowing well that the multitude of people, and the respect which is paid to their quality at home, are capitall enemies to study: hence it cometh to passe in other Kingdomes, that the sonnes of Lords and great men
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do for the most part, prove great *Ignorants*: As if the greatest *Nobility* did not consist in the greatest *knowledge*.

There are ordinary Masters without number, for there being so many that pretend to the degree of a *Literato*, and so few that attaine to it, the greatest part are constrained to take upon them the imployment of a schoolmaster; so that to set up a schoole the year following, they go about to get scholars for that time, from the beginning of the present year, but in great houses they commonly receive none for Masters, but such as have taken the degree of Batchelour, who continue the course of their studies with a designe to take their other degree.

When they have taken any degree, although it be but only of *Batchelour*, they are then no longer under a Master, but forme a kind of *Academie*, as it were, among themselves; where they meet at certaine times every month, one of them openeth a book, and giveth a point or Theme, upon which all of them make their *Compositions*, which they afterward compare among themselves.

Although they have no *universities* and particular schooles, nevertheless they have generall schooles, which are very capacious and magnificent, and most richly adorned, for the examiners, and those that are to be examined; of which there is a wonderfull great number. These schooles are in the Cities and Townes, but the most stately ones are in the *Metropolies* of the Provinces, where the examination of *Licentiats* is held. These fabriques are of a bignesse proportionable to the multitude of people which flock to them. The form is almost the same in all. Those of *Canton* are not bigge: because they admit not of above foure-score, to take their degree; whereas in others, there are admitted from an hundred to a hundred and fifteen, which is a great difference. The whole structure is compassed about with a wall, having a faire and sumptuous gate towards the South, opening into a large streete, where a numerous multitude are gathered together. This streete or *Piazza* is 150. Geometricall paces broad, each pace consisting of five foote: There are no houses in it, but only porches and walks with seats for the captaines and souldiers, who are there assisting all the time of the examination, and keep a strong guard. At the first entrance, there is a great Court, where do stand the *Mandarins* of the first post, with a Court of guard within the gate; then presently appeareth another wal with a gate, made like those of our Churches, and openeth & shuts in two leaves or pieces, when it is not convenient that all should be opened: when you are past that gate, there appeareth a large place, in which there is a pond of water, extending from one tide to another, over which standeth a stone bridge of perfect Architecture, which endeth at another entrance or gate, guarded by Captaines, which suffer none to go in or out, without expresse order from the officers. After this gate followeth another very spacious Court, having on each side rowes of little houses or chambers for the persons that are to be examined; placed on the East and West side thereof. Every chamber is foure palmes and an halfe long, (every palme is nine inches English) and three and a halfe broad, and is in height about the stature of a man: they are covered with Tarrasse or Playster in stead of Tyle; within each of them are two boards,

boards, the one fastened to sit downe on, the other moveable for a Table: which after it hath served them to write upon, they make use of, when time is, to eat on. There is a narrow entrie, which leadeth to them, that admitteth but of one man a breast, and that hardly too; the doores of one row open toward the backside of the other.

At the time of the examination; there is a souldier to assist in every one of these little chambers, to guard and serve the person to be examined; sitting under his little Table: They say, he hath a gagge of wood in his mouth, that he should not speak and trouble the student. But if it be in his power to remedie it, it is not likely, that he doth entirely complie with his obligation.

At the end of this narrow entrie I spake of, is raised a Tower upon foure Arches with Balusters without on all sides; within which there is a *Salone* or great Hall, where do assist some officers and persons of respect, who stay there to give account of what passeth in all the little chambers, which they have placed in their sight. At the foure corners of this Court are foure great Towers, with their Bell or Drum, which is sounded, as soone as there happeneth any noveltie or disorder, to give notice thereof to whom it doth concerne. Nigh to these Towers are other Buildings with a large Hall, furnished with seats and Tables, and other necessaries for the businesse that is to be performed there; which is the first examination of the compositions; at which the more ordinary officers do assist, sitting in those seats.

Going through the Hall by the gate which looketh Northward, there is to be seen another Court, and presently another Hall of the same form; but the furniture thereof is more rich and costly, it serving for the *President*, and more honourable officers. Then follow likewise other appartaments and lodgings for the said persons, and for all the other officers and examiners; every appartament hath a Hall, seats and Tables to negotiate and eat at; a chamber with a bed, and Canopie of filke, and other household-stuff proper to that end they are designed for. There is also a walke with little gardens and low Trees. There are also joyned to these, other lesser chambers for Notaries, Secretaries, Pages, and other officers of their families; besides these there are other chambers for the *Mandarines* and inferiour officers, and for their ordinary servants, with Butteries, Larders, Kitchens, and whatsoever is necessary for the accommodation of so great a multitude; every thing being disposed and ordered even to admiration.

Anciently the nobilitie and kindred of the King were not admitted to any sort of office or publique charge; no, nor those of them that studied, were allowed to come to the examinations, to take their degrees. About 20 yeares since, after many earnest solicitations made by them, and oppositions by the contrary part, they had the priviledge granted them, to be admitted to all examinations; and the examiners are obliged to confer degrees on some of them, but not to many. The common people of all sorts and all vocations are admitted, except those that are infamous, as the servants of the *Mandarines* (not their household Servants, but those which serve them in their Tribunalls and Courts of justice;) Sergeants, Bayliffs,

Bayliffs, Catchpoles, Rogues, Executioners, and guardians of their publique women, called *Vampa*. Likewise those are not admitted, against whom lyeth any tax, or accusation of ill manners, untill there be satisfaction given of their amendment.

They have three sorts of degrees *Sieueai*, *Kiugin*, *Cinsu*; and that we might the better understand them, I might say, that after their manner they are answerable to our *Bachelour* *Licentiate*, and *Doctour*, each degree having their severall ensignes and badges of honour. Those that are only students, and have taken no degree, have not any particular priviledge belonging to them, but only are respected as Gentlemen, and the people honour them, as the lights of their Country, so much is knowledge esteemed among them, who know, how to honour that, which doth truly deserve esteeme.

CHAP. 8.

Of the manner of their Examinations, and how their degrees are conferred.

THE order and manner, that the *Chinesses* observe in their examinations of persons that take their degrees, is very curious. It is to be supposed, that in these examinations, from the first of the simple student, to the last of the Doctour, consisteth the businesse of the greatest importance of this Kingdome: for on these depend the degrees and offices both of honour and profit, the only marke, at which mortalls aime with their chiefeft attention. In a word, if there be an employment, wherein these two are coupled (a conjunction which the old proverb hath sentenced to be very difficult) certainly it is this. We will begin at the beginning, that is what is performed by the meere and simple students.

Before the examination there is first spread abroad a report, that there will be one, till at length it be published by *Authoritie*. Because the degrees which are conferred, and those which pretend, are many, it is not convenient that so great a multitude should be admitted to the examination of the *Chancellour*: and to the end that both the fit and unfit should not enter at that examination, there is an order in the Province, that those which are to enter, should be proved first by two Antecedent examinations in their City or Towne, after this manner. Every Judge in his Territorie doth publish an examination, and appointeth a day for the meeting of all the students of his Precinct. And because sometimes the place of the publick universitie is not sufficient for the reception of so great a multitude, they fill a large field with seats and Tables; and there the examination is held. The Judge giveth the poynt upon which they are to compose. They begin in the morning and are allowed time till night; They give in but one composition, and when they have finished it, they consign it to the proper officer; who, putting them together, examineth them all along with great diligence; and chusing out the best, causeth the name of their composers

composers to be written: this roll of their names is stuck up upon the wall of his Palace; by which it cometh to be known, who they are, that are allowed to passe to the supream examination; and this allowance they call, *Having a name in their Village*.

The compositions thus allowed are carried by the Officer, in person to the Governour of the City: and the same do all the judges of Townes, each within his own jurisdiction; and each City in its Villages, each City being divided into two Villages, with their particular judges, besides the Governour of the City. And all the students of the Country, that have been already allowed of, being assembled together, enter into the generall place of the City, where the Governour of the City examines them again, and giveth them a new point, after the same manner, as was given them in the Village with this difference; that they use more care, rigour, and diligence, and admit lesse of the Intercession of friends, who are ready in all places to pervert the truth. Of these the governour chuseth 200, and giveth their names to the *Chancellor*, who putteth them the third time upon the same examination, almost in the same manner; and chuseth out amongst them about 20 or 25, upon whom he conferreth their degree; so that being sifted three times most exactly, they come at length to be but few in number. Then are given them their ensignes and priviledges, with an advertency of their subordination, not only to the *Chancellor*, but also to the *Prefects*, who are two in each City; and are called *Hioquon*; that is, *Mandarines* of the sciences. Their office is to observe and spy out the deportment of each; and to chastise those, that behave themselves amisse; and (which is more) they may examine them a new, if they please, and as often, as they think good.

The *Chancellor* is bound by his office to send through the Province, and to assemble within the Cities all the Ancient *Batchelours*, and to examine them, to find whether they study, or else addict themselves to other employments different from their profession. He rewardeth the diligent, and castiseth those that are idle, in this manner: when they are all gathered together in the generall Palace, he giveth them a point for their compositions; the which being ended, their papers are divided into five *Decuries* or *Classes*; to those of the first he giveth praise and rewards; the same or little lesse is done to those of the second; Those of the third *Classe* are passed by in silence; those of the fourth he chastiseth; those of the last *Classe*, he depriveth of their degrees, priviledges, and ensignes of honour, and turneth them back to be rank'd among the common people: yet nevertheless with liberty to return again, for their degrees, to their examinations. Of the first sort are chosen the ablest to the number of 40. For each City, and 20 for each town; and although they have not above eight Crowns pension a man, they stand the King, through the whole Kingdom in 300000. Crowns. This employment is very great; for the Cities are 444; the Villages 1250. This is that which a *Batchelour* is obliged to do, to obtain his degree: let us now see, what is required of a *Licentiate*.

The examination of these is held every three years, in the chief City of each Province, upon the same day through-out the whole Kingdom;

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which useth to be in the eighth moone; and commonly falleth out to bee about the end of our September, or beginning of October. The examination lasteth about 25 or 30 daies; although they, that are to be examined, are not held to it above three daies only; and those are the ninth, the twelfth and the fifteenth of the aforesaid month. The chief examiners are the greatest Officers of the whole Province, besides others of that precinct who are assistant to them: But above all, the President; who cometh, even from court, purposely to his Province. These are the first, that do assemble in the general Palace; and with them their Secretaries, notaries, and other people appointed both for their Guard and service; and likewise Physitians, for fear they might have need of them; because, whilst this action lasteth, no person is permitted to come out, or in, to them.

Without, there remaineth a vigilant Officer, to provide whatsoever is required from within, only the *Chancelor* is here excused from this confinement, because he is the common master of all the Batchelours. There are some, which are so infallibly certain of their knowledge and abilities, that there was one in *Kiamsi*, who, after the students were locked up for their examinations, made a list of those whom he conceived, should receive their degrees, and having set it up in publick, he erred only in six, of an hundred and fifteen, which were elected.

When the Officers are assembled, the students (which in the larger Provinces and Universities exceed the number of 7000) make their appearance, at nine of the clock in the morning, keeping their order, and without any contrast; (as it often happeneth at the examination of Batchelours, with such confusion, as is often the occasion of undecent and unfortunate accidents, and sometimes murders, as I once saw in the City of *Sumkiam* in the Province of *Nankim*, and in that of *Kiamsi*.) At their entrance they are all searched, to find what they carry about them; and if the least paper be but found about any one of them, he is presently excluded. And for the lesse trouble in searching of them, they are all obliged to wear their hair loose and hanging down, their leggs naked, and shoes made of cord, their garment without lining, or any fold whatsoever, with their inke-horne and pensels about their necks; (for as we have said before, they use no other pens, but those.) As soon as they are entred, they retire into those little chambers, we spake of before, each into one, with his souldier to watch him, who sitteth at his feet under his little table. Then they lock up the gates, setting their guards of Souldiers; who keep so strict and rigorous a watch, that during the examination, they do not suffer any one to passe through that street, much lesse do they permit any one to go out.

Then presently are the points exposed, which the President hath already written in large letters on white Tables of *Charam*, the which hang publickly at the four corners of the crosse way between the little houses; so that every one may see them from his own chamber, the Points or Theames are seaven; four out of the four last books of their Philosopher which are common to all; and three from every *Kim*, that is, out of every part of his books of sciences; each student necessarily professing only one of them.

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Vpon each point the student is to write briefly, Elegantly, and sententi-
ously; so that every one is to make seven compositions, which are to be
written in a faire and well shap'd letter, without any Abbreviation. If
they afterwards mend or correct any thing, they are to write underneath,
in what line that Emendation is made. They make two copies of
their compositions; the one subscribed with the name and Sirname of
their Father and Grand-Father, with the years of their own age, together
with an Inscription, as seemeth good to each of them. These they seale
up with the Inscription only on the outside: presently they consign the
open copies to the officers appointed to receive them, and then go their
waies. The sealed copies are kept according to their number in a place
appointed for them; the open copies are given to certain Notaries, who
copy them out in red letters, that the composers hand might not be
known; and after that, they are given to the Examiners, who distributing
them among themselves, do, the two following daies, examine and review
them, with so much rigour, that the least errour is sufficient to exclude
the student. I shall give you a pleasant example.

Among their letters, there is one called *Ma*, which signifieth a horse:
this is composed of a perpendicular line crossed with three others,
and underneath hath a stroke, which endeth with a concavity like to our
letter S. In this concavity they put 4 pricks in a row, one after another.
In stead of these four pricks when they write with Abbreviation, they
put only one line. Now there was a student, who in his composition
wrote it after this last manner; and although his composition were excel-
lent, yet because he had not writ this letter after the first manner, the exa-
miner sent him away with these words, *without four leggs the horse can-
not go.*

When that is done, they let up, on the outward wall, a large catalogue
of the names of such, who have made any fault in their compositions,
which serveth for advice to them, to return home to their houses, which
they presently do partly out of shame, and partly out of necessity, because
they will not be suffered to enter at the following examinations.

The second time they enter again, on the twelfth day of the month,
where they are proceeded with as before, excepting that they give them
only three points, concerning such doubts and difficulties, as may occurre
in matter of government; to understand, how they would behave them-
selves in it, and how they would advise the King. Then again upon the
through examination of these second compositions many are sent away
and excluded from the third examination: to which they enter on the
fifteenth day of the month; and have only three points given them con-
cerning the lawes and statutes of the Realme. When the compositions of
this last examination are received, they shut up the generall Palace for
fifteen daies, more or lesse; and during that time, by comparing and chu-
sing the best, they are reduced to a small number, who do really deserve
the degree. Then they consign them to the *President*, who maketh the
last scruting, and ranketh them in their places and order, there being a
great difference in being of the first, or of the last; not only for their repu-
tation, but also to be the sooner provided of some good place or office.

After this last diligence is ended, which is used about the copies of the compositions, presently they open the originall compositions, that were sealed and laid by, that by the Inscriptions they might find out the names of the Authours; which they write down in certain classes according to their merits. This catalogue is exposed to the view of innumerable people, who are staying without to expect it; some for their Son or Brothers sake, some for their Father or Friend, some for their Master or Patrone; and some only to satisfy their curiositie.

At the time when these names stand exposed, being written in very large letters, from the top to the bottom of a long paper, two palmes and a halfe broad, there stand ready without, just so many horses which are to carry those that receive their degree of *Licentiate*; each horse being marked with his number. of 1. 2. etc. And to every one of those servants, who are appointed to lead the Horses, there is given a ticket, with the name of the Graduate, and the number of that place, which belongeth to him. Who presently runneth to seek him out (it being not easie to find him, because they do yet stand retired) to give him notice of his election, and to beg some reward of him, and so staies with him to wait upon him, till he departeth to go to the Court.

The students having notice given them of their promotion, come all on horse-back to the Palace-general, every one in his order; where the *Proveditor* and Minister of the Kings Exchequer-chamber, standeth ready expecting them, with the ensigns of their dignitie, as the Cap, Gown, Tip-pit, and Boots, which he solemnly putteth upon them, and when they are thus adorned, they go presently to give thanks to the *President* of the examinations: who receiveth them on foot, and treateth them, as his equals, though he be alwaies to them in the stead of a Master: and they do so depend on him; and bear him such extraordinary respect, that it is a thing almost incredible to be related. Among them is so much love and amity, as if they were really brethren, for they are called brothers of the examination; and like such do they respect one another. After follow diverse ceremonies, and severall banquets presented by the Officers altogether. They are three in all, as I remember, and are all very sumptuous, but the third is of some profit also: for in this, there is set to every one of them three tables; the first covered with diverse meates; the second with hens, fowle, venison, and other flesh, which is to be all raw; the third with dryed fruits: and all this is to be sent home to their houses, that they might spend it there, at their own pleasure and discretion.

As soon as these men have obtained their degree, they become presently great, honoured, nay adored; and, I know not how, suddenly rich. After this, they go no longer on foot, but either on horse-back or in a Sedan. And not only the graduate, but his whole family, change their condition, and he beginneth to think of purchasing his neighbours houses, and to build himself a Palace. This will yet seem more wonderfull to him, that knoweth, that many of them come out of their countries a very great way on foot, carrying at their backs, that habit, which they are to wear in the City, having sometimes their hands daubed with clay, where-with they lately were mending up their poor cottages: of which sort of blades I have seen some come to *Nankim*. These

These solemnities being ended, the Graduates presently prepare to go to Court, to be made *Doctours*; and if they will take any government upon them, they are presently provided with some place or other: But if they accept of any government, they lose their pretension of being examined afterward for *Doctour*. Although there is none who at first doth not attempt it, But if any one doth not succeed in it, and begin to be somewhat in years, having a mind to put himselfe presently into the world, he accepteth of a Government, having only the title of a *Licentiate*, but such very seldome come to very high preferments; although there have been found some of them, who have had the good fortune to be advanced to the quality of *Vice-roy*. For this journey to Court they have every one of them given them 80. crownes, out of the Kings exchequer, to bear their charges: and it is very certaine (as I have been informed by some *Chinneses* of credit,) that the whole expences, which every *Licentiate* stands the King in, from the time he taketh his degree, till he cometh to be placed in the Court amounteth to 1000. crownes; which throughout the whole Kingdome, (according to my account,) maketh a million and halfe of crownes. So much doth it cost the Prince in the forming of his wisemen, and making them capeable of the Government of his crowne: so great a reward doth he propose to them, that they might aspire to be sufficiently learned.

The *Licentiates*, who are made every three yeare, throughout all the Provinces, are about fifteen hundred, more or lesse, and this is no great number in respect of those, which procure, their degree in all the generall Palaces. In that of *Cantone*, which is one of the least, having not above 7500. little chambers in it, the compositions of the first day are about 96148. from whence may easily be inferred, how great the number of the pretenders is. And now we will give a particular chapter, concerning the supreme degree.

CHAP. 9.

Of the degree of *Doctour*.

THE degree of *Doctour* is solemnly conferred at the Court, in the second Moone of the yeare, which answereth to our month of March. They proceed in it according to the same form, which was observed in the degree of *Licentiate*; excepting that the ensignes of honour are different, and the examiners of greater qualitie; they being the chiefe of the royall Colledge called *Hanlin*, and their *President* is alway the *Colao*, the greatest dignitie, next the King, of this Empire: although he differently exerciseth the charge of *President*; for, in this Transaction, they of the royall Colledge have a definitive vote; and the compositions being distributed among them, after the first election, they, who are elected and approved by them, cannot be refused or rejected by the *President*.

All the *Licentiates* of the Kingdome are admitted to this examination, as well the old ones, as the new. And anciently there was no precedent examination

examination to inable them for this admittance; because it was accounted sufficient to be a *Licentiate*, to have entrance at the examination of *Doctors*: But because among their compositions there were many so ill made, that it was time lost to read them, and did render the composers incapable, not only of the degree of *Doctor*, but likewise of pretending to it; therefore about 15. years since, there was introduced another examination for the receiving of them, which is in practise to this day: from whence it happeneth, that many are not received, to their great shame and sorrow: which is a wholesome instruction to others not to spend their time in feasting and recreations.

In this examination are to be chosen 350. upon whom the degree of *Doctor* is conferred. The ensignes of honour, excepting the Bootes, which are the same in all, are very different from those of the *Licentiates*, both in cost and ornament. They have also a girdle given them, which they alwaies weare in their places of Government, which are bestowed upon them; but is more rich and precious, according to the offices they are advanced to. When they have received their degree, and put on their ensignes of honour, they all assemble, within a Hall of the Kings Palace prepared for that purpose, where they are examined the second time in one only composition, the poynt being about the Government and employment which they are to be admitted to. At this examination, in former times the King did use to assist in person; but now there assisteth a *Colao* in his name.

The examination being ended, they passe into another Hall, where the new *Doctors* do make their reverence to the King, and presently the *Colai* presents to him three of them, which have obtained the first places; then the King with his owne hand bestoweth a reward on each of them. He to whom he giveth the first gift, being the chief of all the rest, hath a particular name belonging to him ever after; as also, to the second and the third: The first they call *Chuan. Yuen*, the next *Pham, Yuen*; the third *Thoan, Hoa*; and this name is of so great esteeme and reputation, that in a few daies after the examination, there is scarce any person through out the whole Kingdom, that doth not know them by these names; and not by the names of their fathers and Countrie; which is a wonderfull thing in so vast a Kingdom as that is. The honour is as great, as that of our Dukes and Marqueses. As well for the respect, which is paid them throughout the whole realme; as for the places of authority and trust, where they are put to govern; being the very same, which were anciently conferred upon those great Lords, whose authority was in another way, correspondent to that, which now these *Doctors* have.

These ceremonies being accomplisht, there is yet another examination, which although it be voluntarie, there are few that absent themselves from it. A new point is given; they make their compositions; and according to them there is an Election made of those, who are to be admitted to the royall colledge. They select only 30 of the most deserving, and of them they admit five every year; who only for being entred in so smal a number, are alway providing with profitable places of government. The other twenty five have particular Palaces assigned them; where they assemble

assemble, and become as Scholars under the discipline of a *Colao*, who almost every day, causeth them to compose somewhat, and exercise themselves in all that belongeth to their learning, and speculative government. This continueth til the next examinations, at which new persons enter, and the other go forth, and according to their degrees and antiquity, are provided with the places of greatest importance at the court; from whence (unlesse it be to be *Presidents* of the examinations, or some other particular employment, that lasteth but a short time, and by the Kings order) they never go out; no not to be *vice-royes*, which employment is accounted below them, because only those of the royal colledge are capable of the dignity of a *Colao*.

All the new *Doctors* are that year put into some employment, unlesse there be any, that is not of competent years. That which helpeth this multitude to employments, is that the same year there is held a generall visitation throughout the whole Kingdome; by which there are so many of the old *Mandarines* turned out, that there are many places made void for the new ones; and, as this degree is of high account, the visits, congratulations, Feasts, and Presents, which are made upon this occasion, are almost incredible. The reward for bringing the first newes, is many times worth 200 Crownes to the Messenger, but commonly 50, as soon as the friends and kindred of those who are named among the three first above-mentioned, hear of their promotion, presently they erect unto them triumphall arches in their Cities or Villages, not of wood coverd with Canvasse or past-board; but of pure Marble sumptuously wrought; in the front whereof is engraved the name of the Person, for whom they were erected; the place he hath obtained, and the year of his *Doctour-ship*; in a word, the world is the same throughout. It is a vain thing to beleieve, that he which hath not power, should be admired, heard or received with applause; whether it be done out of zeale to the truth, or out of flattery and interest.

CHAP. 10.

Of the Books and Sciences of the
Chineffes.

OF the Sciences of the *Chineffes*, we cannot speak so very distinctly and clearly, because really, their Authours have not been so fortunate, as *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and other Philosophers and wise men, who have methodically handled them under their several *Classes*, divisions, and titles: whereas the *Chineffes* have written little or no thing of many of the sciences and liberal arts, and of the rest, but superficially, except those which concern good government and policie.

From the very beginning it hath been their chiefeft aim, to find out the best way of government; the first that began this, were the Kings *Fo-hi*, *Xinon* and *Hoamsi*. These three at the beginning gave themselves to their

their morall and speculative Sciences, by way of mysticall, even and odd numbers, and other ciphers and notes; by which they gave law to their subjects: and from hand to hand, these were alway communicated to the Kings; who were the wisemen of that time, and by this means did govern the Kingdome; untill the *Monarchie* of *Cheu*; which began 1123. years before the coming of our Saviour: at which time *Venuam*, and *Checuam* his youngest Sonne, published these numbers and ancient notes, and made a booke of them, intituled *Techim*; giving likewise many morall precepts, documents and orders to the whole Kingdome; and following the steps of other Philosophers, which lived according to the *Stoick* rule: they had alway great care of the Government and publique good; untill the time of *Confusio*; who composed five bookes in order, (called by them *Vehim*) which are at this day held as sacred. He made also other bookes; and of his sentences and sayings there have been (since) also many more bookes composed.

This Philosopher flourished about 150. yeares before the coming of Christ; he was a man of a good nature, well inclined to vertue, prudent, sententious, and a lover of the publique good. He had many disciples, which followed him; he had a great desire to reform the world (which, even at that time, began to lose its sinceritie and veracity, changing the ancient manner of living, and introducing moderne customes.) And so he governed in severall Kingdomes: for when he saw, that they did not live conformable to his precepts and counsells in one Kingdom, he went to another; yet not uncensured by many other Philosophers of that time, who seeing the evill course, which men tooke, retired themselves to their villages, and becoming husbandmen, in their owne persons tilled their grounds. Now it happened that one day *Confusio*, passing along, and being to go through a river, whose ford he was not acquainted withall, sent one to enquire of a man that was labouring thereabouts, who was a Philosopher, He asked the messenger, who he was; and being answered, that he was a disciple of *Confusio's*, who sat in his Coach expecting his answer; The Philosopher replied, let him go in a good houre: he knoweth the way, and hath no need of a guide; signifying thereby, that he went from Kingdome to Kingdome, endeavouring to Govern, in a time that was not proper for Philosophers to reigne in.

Neverthelesse in after times, this man was in so great favour with the *Chineses*; and the bookes which he composed were held in so much credit, as also the sayings and sentences which he left behind him; that they do not only hold him for a Saint, and a Master and *Doctour* of the whole Kingdome, and whatsoever is cited of him is esteemed as an Oracle or sacred thing; but also, in all the Cities of the Kingdome, he hath publique Temples, built to his memorie, where at set times he is worshipped with very great ceremony: and in the year of the examinations, one of the principall ceremonies is, that all the graduates go together to do him reverence, and acknowledge him for their Master.

Of those that are descended from him, he that is the neereft of kin hath a competent revenue, and enjoyeth the title of *Chuhou*, which is as much as Marquis or Duke. The Governour of the City where he was borne,

borne, out of respect and favour to him, is alwaies one of his family: and finally, all those of his lineage, as soone as they are borne, have a particular priviledge from the *Emperour*, and are respected by all, in regard of their predeceffour *Confusio*. This custome continueth to this day, although it be 1800. yeares since he died.

But returning to the Bookes which he published, they are these following; The first is called *Tekim*, and treateth of his naturall Philosophie, and of the generation and corruption of things; of Fate, or Judiciary Prognostication from these and other things, and from naturall principles; Philosophizing by way of numbers, figures, and symboles; applying all to morallitic and good government. The second is called *Xukim*, containing a Chronicle of the ancient Kings, and their good government. The third *Xikim*, and is of ancient poesie, all under metaphors and poeticall figures, concerning the naturall inclinations of mankind, and also of diverse customes. The fourth, named *Likim*, treateth of rites and civill ceremonies of the Ancients; and also of those that belong to Religion and divine worship. The fifth is called *Chuncieu*, the which treateth also of the History of their Countrey, and containeth a collection of examples of severall ancient Kings, good and bad, to be imitated or avoided.

There are also foure other bookes, which were made by *Confusio* and another Philosopher called *Mensiu*; In these nine bookes is contained all the naturall and morall Philosophie, which the whole Kingdome studieth; and out of these is taken the point, which is proposed to read, or compose on, in their examinations for degrees. Upon these bookes they have severall commentaries and glosses: But there is one of them, which by the law of the Kingdome they are commanded to follow; nor are they allowed to contradict it in their publique Acts; and hath almost the same authority with the text.

These nine bookes are held, as it were, sacred, and in them, and their *Glosses* and commentaries consisteth the great endeavour of their studies; getting them by heart; and endeavouring to understand the difficult places of them; forming diverse senses upon them, whereby, to govern themselves in the practise of vertue, & to prescribe rules for the government of the Kingdome, according to those wise dictates and *Maximes* they finde there. And because their examinations are very strickt and rigorous, they not being suffered to bring along with them to those examinations, not only any booke, but also not so much as a fingers breadth of paper, it being no easie thing to be very ready in all these bookes, the order is; That the first examination of *Batchelours* be upon the last foure, and that of *Licentiates* to be upon the same foure; as also upon one of the other five: for this reason none is obliged to be very perfect in more than one of those sciences, which he doth professe: and upon that the point is to be given him.

But to speak more distinctly to their learning (although in their books it is not delivered so clearely and orderly) I say, they consider in the universethree things; that is, the heavens, earth, and man; and so accordingly they divide their learning into three members, that is, into the science of the heavens; the science of the earth, and the science of man; inclu-

ding in the two first, all naturall knowledge, and in the third, all morall.

In the science of the heavens, they treat of the beginning of all naturall things, of the Creation of the Universe, and of the Formation of man himselfe : of universall causes, of generation and corruption ; of elements and elementary qualities, answerable to the planets ; of celestiaall motions and revolutions ; of the foure seasons of the year ; of the stars and planets, of *Judiciall Astrologie*, of spirits good and bad what they are ; and other like matters.

In the science of the earth, they treat of the varietie that is seen in her, by reason of the 4. seasons of the yeare, of the productions of things, and their differences : of fields and possessions, and their divisions in order to *Husbandrie* and *Agriculture* : of the situation of the 4 parts of the world : of their position ; and other particulars concerning them ; of the choise and building of *Cæmeteries*, and burying places for their dead ; in which they are very superstitious.

In the science, which treateth of man, they teach all their moralitie ; and that which belongeth to man in a sociable and politick capacitie ; who imitating the order, manner and proprietic of heaven and earth, as the universall Parents, liveth in communitie with the observing their five morallvertues, which are *Pietie*, *Justice*, *Prudence*, *Policie* and *Fidelitie*. They treat also of morall matters, and of the respect which they have to the five orders of persons, into which their Common-wealth is divided ; that is, *Father* and *Sonne* : *Husband* and *Wife* : *King* and *Subjects* : *Elder Brother* and *Younger Brother* : and *Friends* among themselves.

All their moralitie is divided into two members : The first they call *Divine Moralitie*, which treateth only of ceremonies, rites and sacrifices, which they make to heaven ; earth ; the planets ; parts of the world ; good and bad spirits of the heaven, and earth, mountaines, rivers, tutelary spirits, soules of the dead, Heroes and famous men, &c. The second is their *Politick* and *civill Moralitie* ; This is divided into *Ethiques*, which ordereth the manners and actions of mankind as they are considered in relation to their owne persons : and into *Oeconomie*, in order to the government of their families : and into *Politiques*, in relation to the Government of the Commonwealth, the publick good, and conservation of the Kingdome. The Government of a single person doth put him in a way to the good Government of his familie ; and the good Government of a familie to that of the Kingdome ; as for example, A father, which doth not well Govern his house, how should he governe a City or Province ? and he that knoweth not how to governe and correct himselfe, according to the duty of his single person, how should he be able to regulate his familie ? So that they lay the first foundation of mortalitie, in the good manners and behaviour of each particular person ; from whence proceede well govern'd families, and publick Governments well administred.

Under the same member of the science of man, they comprehend the *Liberall* and all other *Arts* ; which belong to their persons, families and *Monarchie* ; which shall be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of their Sciences and liberall Arts in particular.

GRAMMAR, the gate of the other Sciences, if we reduce it only to the terminations of a language, as *Cornelius Nepos*, and other grave Authors have done, is but in little use among the *Chineffes*: for all their words being *Monosyllables* and undeclinable, there is not much paines required to put them together in *syntax*: yet notwithstanding all this, there is a great deal of difficulty in composing, the which consisteth in placing of adverbs and certain termes, which are not significant: but if we should enlarge the *Grammar*, as far as *Angelus Politianus*, and some others have stretched it, it is certain, that there is great use of *Grammar* among them; for their humane learning is very large and vast; and although they have but few fables or mysteries, yet they have many Histories, Sayings, Sentences, and *Apophthegmes*, which they must make use of for the ornament of their compositions.

For *Logick*, they have no other rules, but what are dictated to them by the light of nature.

Rhetorick is much in use among them, although they have no rules belonging to that art; but rather take it up by way of Imitation; observing and practising what they find to be good in the compositions of others.

Arithmetick they have in perfection, for as much as concerneth the four *Species* and kinds thereof: they have also their demonstrations, and figures, as I have seen in their books. Of *Algebra* they know nothing at all, nor do they much practise the ordinary *Arithmetick*. The way of account through the whole Kingdom, and also in the neighbouring Countries, is with an instrument, called by the *Portugheffes*, *Gina*, and of the *Chineffes*, *Suonpuon*, that is, a Table of account: it is made like a small square, divided into ten parts, with certain little rodde or wyres of brasfe, upon each of which are threaded seven little balls or beads, about the bignesse of those we use in our Chaplets or Rosaries: five beneath (for the wyer is divided into two parts) which stand for *unites*; two above, which signify *tens*: and with this instrument, moving up and down the little balls, they make their accounts with great facilitie and expedition.

In *Geometrie* they have a sufficient knowledge, for although, not being acquainted with remote Countries and Kingdomes, they have not been able to distinguish their bounds; nor to assign them their proper confines: yet they have very exactly divided their own country, of which they have very perfect *maps*. Add to this, that anciently all their land was divided by very exact measures: because the King had not his revenue then, in that manner, as he hath it now, that is, that every land should pay so much; but every one divided his land into ten equall parts, and one of those parts, which lay nighest to the middle, they tilled and sowed, and the profit was the Kings: and even now a daies, in buying and selling

of land, they measure it, if there be occasion.

The measure which they use upon this occasion, as likewise to measure any other continued quantity, is in this manner. The least of all, they call *Hufuen*, and is three graines of wheat. Ten of these make the second measure, called *Huzum*; ten *Huzums* make a *Che*; and ten *Che's* make their greatest measure called *Hucham*, bigger than an *Italian* yard. These measures, the which they have perfectly divided in the manner above-said, are used by all Officers, as also by taylours, to make their garments, taking measure by them, as we do in *Europe* with a piece of thread, or Parchment: so likewise, the Carpenters frame a house, though never so big, with all its pillars, beames, joyces. etc. Without so much as trying a piece of timber, where it is to stand, only by meanes of these measures; and having framed a house thus in severall pieces; they will on a sudden joyn them together and set it up, without missing in the least.

Their wayes they measure by paces, but still according to the same measure, making a Geometricall pace to consist of 6 *Che*, and one *Li* of 300 paces; and of 100 *Li* one *Stadium*, or daies journey. So that from North to South it appeareth that 250 *Li* make a degree; for we allow to every league 15 *Li*; and 16 leagues to every degree.

To measure corn, rice, pulse, and such like, the greatest measure is, that which the *Portugheesses* call *Pico*, and the *Chineesses* *Tan*. This is composed of smaller measures: the least is as much as a man can hold in the hollow of his hand; ten of these measures make one *Xim*; (and this of rice is the ordinary allowance of a man for a day) ten *Xim* make one *Ten*, and ten *Ten* make one *Tan*; which cometh to weight about 100 *Cattes*, which make 125 pound of *Portugall-weight*, 16 ounces to the pound.

The third manner of measuring, which is by weight, is divided after the same manner. We will begin with an *Hao*, and it is the tenth part of a piece of their mony, which the *Portugheesses* call *Caxà*, or *Li*, as the *Chineesses* call it: and answereth to our halt *Fulio* or three-pence: ten *Li* make one *Condri*; ten *Condri* one *Mas*; ten *Mas* one *Tael*; and 16 *Tael* one *Cate*, which is their pound, but bigger than ours; for 16 *Tael* make 20 of our pounds: 100 *Cate* make one *Pico*, or, as they call it, one *Tan*.

In weighing they use not the Balance, but the *Stillyard*, or *statera*, as well for little, as great weights. For great weights, they do not use an Iron-beam, but of wood, divided into its parts by points or marks of *Brasse*, or else of silver. In weighing of gold, silver, medicines, and the like, they make use of certain little weights, with a beam of whitebone, divided by strokes of black. They make these *Stillyards* very perfectly, and of severall fashions; The middle sized have three rowes of pricks, and three threads neere the Centre in stead of a cord; the first row of pricks giveth any weight from 3 ounces to five; the second goeth further, and weigheth to ten ounces; the last row to 20. The larger sort of *Stillyards* weigh more or less; the least sort are divided into so smal parts, that although those ten parts, into which a *Li* of silver is divided, do not use to be divided in *brasse-mony*, (for they coine no mony but of *brasse*) neverthelesse in the weighing of silver they distinguish and divide them very exactly.

For the better understanding whereof it, is to be supposed, that throughout

out all the Kingdome of *China*, excepting the Province of *Yunan*, they use no other money but of brasse; and all the silver goeth by weight, so that if I would give a crowne, I give as much silver, as a crowne weigheth, and so of a six-pence or three-pence, &c. And for this cause there are an infinitie of foundries, as also mint-houses for silver: and to buy some things, especially such as are of small value, silver of base alloy will serve the turn; and so base, that in some Provinces, of one six-pence they make eight or ten; and reape much benefit by it. Other things cannot be bought but with fine silver, and so the poore silver goeth often to the fire, to be otherwise qualified.

They are great lovers of the *Mathematiques*, but to speak generally, they know very little of them; none being allowed to study them professedly, except those, who apply themselves to this study, by the Kings speciall order; and these are only two throughout the whole Kingdome; The one in the Court of *Pekin*, and the other in that of *Nankim*; with a traine and attendance of *Mandarines*, and the Title of the Kings *Mathematicians*: These teach their art but only to their sonnes, who always succeed them; and are but moderately knowing in their profession. Neverthelesse, they have many ancient books of this science; not only of the course and motion of the stars, planets, and severall other things, but also of *Judiciall Astrologie* and *Horoscopes*, to which they are much addicted. By these books they find out, when the *Eclipses* of the sun and moone are to be; and have maps of the stars, though not in great perfection, yet tolerably good. They reckon a greater number of stars than we. They make the elements to be five; that is, water, mettall, fire, wood, and earth. Over these they assigne five predominant planets: as *Mercury* over the water, *Venus* over mettall, *Mars* over fire, *Jupiter* over wood, and *Saturn* over the earth. They are great observers of the motions of the heavens; They distinguish the seasons of the yeare by the *Aquinoxes* and *Solstices*. They divide the *Zodiack* into 24. signes, doubling our number. They make the yeare to consist of twelve moones; and 354. dayes, having six months of thirty days, and six of 29. and when it is leap-yeare, which falleth out every three years, it consisteth of 13 moones and 383. dayes.

Their yeare beginneth with the new moone, which is neereft to our month of *February*. From the observation of the heavens and their motion, they proceed to the Judiciall part, referring severall events to the conjunctions of the planets, and celestially appearances of *Phenomena*, which they diligently observe: and if there fall out any new or strange appearance, they presently give the King notice of it by a petition; and to this end in both Courts there is a very high place or Tower, furnished with severall mathematicall instruments, which they call *Quon Siam Thai*, that is, a place to observe the stars in.

Of that in *Nankim* I have already said something, when I spake of that City. In *Pekin* the chiefeft instruments are a spheare, like that at *Nankim* with all his *Circles*, *Aquator*, *Zodiack*, *Tropicks*, &c. of cast mettall, and excellent workmanship. Another instrument of the same bignesse, (that is, of 24. foote in circumference,) divided into severall circles, some fixt, others moveable, a stile or *Gnomon* in the middle, and little holes at
each

each end to take the hight of the stars, the degrees and elevation of the Pole, &c. There is moreover a celestiaall Globe of brasfe of the same big- nesse, divided into its degrees, with its constellations, whereof they make only 28. They have also a *Stile* of brasfe very large, divided proportionably, with which they measure the shadowes of the foure seasons of the yeare; that is, of the *Equinoxes* and *Solstices*. There are besides, many other moveable instruments of brasfe, for severall uses, which do sufficiently demonstrate the curiositie of their Ancestours, and how much more diligent and intelligent they were than the Modernes.

Musick was anciently much esteemed in *China*, in so much that their Philosopher *Confusio*, in the COUNTRY where he governed, one of the chiefe things he tooke paines in, was to cause them to be taught *Musick*. Now adaies the *Chineses* lament and say, that the true rule thereof is lost, and almost all the ancient books that treated of *Musick*: So that that *Musick*, which they have at present, is not esteemed off by the *Nobilitie*: The greatest use they make of it, is in their comedies. There are also particular *Musicians*, who are sent for to their feasts, mariages, and the birth of their children; and of these there are some that may be endured. There are not wanting also blind men, who go singing about the streets, and at the doores of their houses: and as all the *Chineses* do make a feast on their birth-dayes, these blind men do keep in their memorie the punctuall time of all the birth dayes of persons of qualitie, and know their houses well; and at those times do never faile to go thither to sing. The *Bonzi* do use *Musick* in their offices and mortuaries, the Tone whereof is not much unlike our *Cantus firmus*, or plainsong; though they have not formally either plair-song or Organ note; for they do not raise, nor fall their voice immediately from a note to the next note or half-note; but mediately raise and fall it to a *third*, a *fift*, or an *eight*: in which the *Chineses* do much delight.

They have twelve Tones, six to rise, which they call *Live*, and six to fall, which they call *Liu*. They have also their notes in singing like ours of, *ut, re, mi*; they are five, and among them is our *ut*: in learning of *Musick* they make no use of signes, nor of the joints of the fingers; nor in composing do they use lines, as we do: it is therefore to be supposed, that in their consorts, they have not a *Musick* formed of diverse parts: for although many do sing together, all is but *unison*, as is in use almost throughout all *Asia*. Therefore their *Musick* is pleasing only to those of their owne Country, but their best way of singing is, one voice only with an Instrument. Neither are they delighted with our full *Musick*, but very much with a single voice.

They use *keeping of time*, but cannot tell how many diversities it hath, and so in singing ancient songs, and moderne ones, upon the same ayre with the old, they hence know the time, when they are to sing, and when they are to stop. Concerning their instruments, they say they have seaven severall kinds of tones, besides a mans voice; and according to these they have made their *Musicall Instruments*. The first is of mettall, and containeth bells of all sorts, *Cimbells*, *Sistra*, &c. The second of stone. They make an Instrument of Jasper, like unto the Italian *Squadra*, excepting that the lowermost end is very large, and they strike or play upon it, as it hangeth up.

The

The third is of skins : here come in our ordinary drums, and those of the *Moresco* fashion, or *kettle drums*; which they make of severall fashions : and some so big, that they cannot be plaid upon, unlesse they be hung up in frames of wood. The fourth is of filke, of which they make strings for instruments as here we make lute-strings of gutts. For stringed instruments, they have the *vyoll* almost like ours: but it hath only 3 strings, and is the usuall instrument of the blind man. They use also the violin with 3 strings and its bow; they have also another with one only string, which they play on, like to our *Bow vyollin*. The chiefeft stringed instrument which they have, is of seaven strings, and is in more esteem than the rest; and if the *Musician* be skil-full, it maketh tolerable *Musick*. The fift is of wood. Of this kind they make certain thin pieces of board, & laying them together, they play upon them all at once, like snappers or *castagnets* : the *Bonzi* also have a particular way by themselves, of striking and playing upon a piece of wood; and that with much *keeping of time*.

The sixth is of those instruments which are sounded with the mouth, as flutes, of which they have 2 or 3 sorts, & so sound them very excellently. They have also another instrument made of severall pipes, like the fashion of our *Organ*, but it is but small, and to be carried in ones hand. They sound it with their mouths; and the Harmony is excellent. Now sometimes all these instruments are plaid on together, and make a pleasing *musick*.

Poesie hath ever been much esteemed in *China*; and in the time, when there were many Kings, *Feudatory* to one *Emperour*, when they came to do him homage (as they did every three years) they were obliged each of them to bring with him out of his Kingdom, the Rythmes and *Poesies*, which were there most current and in use, that by them he might judge of their manners and customes, which truly are much discovered in such compositions. In this particular, the *Chineffes* have a great advantage over all others, because they are very modest, in whatsoever they write; and it is very rare to find a loose word in their verses: and (what is more,) they have no letters whereby to expresse the *privy parts*; nor are they to be found written in any part of all their books.

They have great variety of verses, and do use a consonancie of meeter, like to that in the *Songs*, *Ballads*, *Sonets*, and *Madregals* of *Europe* : and they put also the correspondency of the Rythmes, at the end of each; and so many verses, as we do in our *sonets* & *octaves*, in which they use great variety.

They compose likewise verses by the number of syllables, the which they call *words*: for as in their language, all words are *Monosyllables*, there cometh to be no difference betwixt a syllable and a word, which consisteth of one only letter, which is likewise pronounced a *Monosyllable*. So that all letters being thus after the same manner, the quantity of the verse consisteth in the number of them; so that as we compose verses here of five, seaven, or eleaven syllables, so also the *Chineffes* make theirs of five, seaven, or more letters: whereas among us two words, and sometimes one may take up the whole verse: it can never fall out so in theirs; because all their words are of one syllable and one letter. They have not verses that answer to our latin verses, with feet, as *Dactils* or *Spondees*, &c. But are all made like our *Sonets* and *Dities*, and other verses in Rythme; in which they

they use many various forms and manners of compositions. The chiefe are eight: it will be sufficient to relate one to you, to give you some knowledge of the rest.

In this kind of *Poesie* the verses are to be eight in number, consisting each of them of five letters, and the consonancy of rythme to be every other verse, in this manner: The first may have it, or no, as they please; but the second must rime to the fourth; The fift with the sixt; the seventh with the eighth: The third, fift and seaventh have no consonancy of rime, but the letters are to be correspondent to one another: as also the verses, that do observe a consonancy, are likewise to have their letters to correspond to one another; the first with the first, the second with the second, &c. And this correspondency consisteth not in riming, but in the signification; wherefore if the first letter of the second verse signifie a mountaine, water, fire, or whatsoever else, the first letter of the fourth verse must likewise signifie the same thing; which is likewise observed in the second, and in the rest of the letters, of the whole verse. This is a very Artificiall way, but difficult.

In the conceits of their verses, and in the figures with which they expresse themselves, they use almost the same manner with us in *Europe*. They have another kind of verse, of lesse esteeme, like ordinary rimes, which are every where in request: but the *Nobilitia*, and particularly those of the Kings kindred and blood-royall, are much addicted unto the eighth manner of verses above mentioned, in which they make many severall *Poesies*, chiefly in commendation of their friends, of famous men, of the dead, and of severall vertues.

In *Painting* they have more curiositie, than perfection. They know not how to make use either of *Oyles*, or *Shadowing* in this Art; and do therefore paint the figures of men without any grace at all: but trees, flowers, birds, and such like things, they paint very much to the life. But at present there are some of them, who have been taught by us, that use *Oyles*, and are come to make perfect pictures.

Medicine, or *Physick*, is in a very good condition in *China*, because they have abundance of good ancient bookes of that art, being all their owne authours, for ours are not yet arrived thither. They do not let blood, nor set on Cupping-Glasses; They use no sirrops, no potions, no pills; much lesse have they the use of Cauteries, or issues, a medicine of great advantage; They are only *Herbalists*, using nothing but herbes, rootes, fruits, seeds, &c. and all drie: and for a greater supply, that which they have not in some Provinces is brought them from others: so that there are whole Paires only of medicines; and in the Cities and Townes the Apothecaries shops are very well provided, from whence they furnish themselves. But neither in bottles nor glasses; but of all others the Physicians are well provided; because they never write any receipt, but give the medicine themselves to the patient whom they visit, And all is done at the same visit, therefore the Physician hath alwayes following him a boy, carrying a Cabinet with five drawers, each of them being divided into more than fourty little squares; and all of them furnished with medicines ready ground and prepared.

They

They are very famous in judging of the Pulse: never asking the patient, whether the pain be in his head, shoulders, or belly; only they feele the pulse with both their hands, leaned upon a pillow, or some other such thing, observing the motion of the pulse for a good while; and afterwards do tell, what the patient ayleth, I do not say that they hit right, on every thing, in all patients: nor that all Physitians are able to do it; there being many which do not study, and know but little; but the good and learned Physitians do seldome faile. We had a Father that was sick of a violent stich, in the Province of *Kiamsi*. The Physitian by feeling of his pulse could tell, whether his pain did increase or diminish, and all the changes and alterations of his disease, and I have heard severall *Portugheesses*, which have confirmed the same by other cases. Having felt the pulse, presently they compose the *Medicine*. If it be for the King or Prince they make foure compositions, two for them to take, and two to be kept, all of the same medicines, and equall in number and quantity: The two are kept, till the patient recover. For all other persons, they make two only, one for the morning, and the other for the evening. They write upon them in what quantity of water they are to be decocted; and how and when they are to be taken; and many times there doth follow a wonderfull successe.

I will relate what happened to a Father, who lay sick in prison in the City of *Nankim*. At the beginning of his sicknesse they sent presently for a Physitian, and finding no effect of his medicines, they sent for another; & because the physick of the second had no better successe, and the malady still encreased, the Christians sought out for a Physitian of more fame and reputation; who although he was very unwilling to make a visit into such a place, notwithstanding, at length by much intreaty he was perswaded to visit the sick man: He felt his pulse, and performed his ordinary ceremonies; among the which one was to lay his breast bare, which was full of spots; for indeed he had the *Meazills*. Presently he compounded three medicines, the first the patient tooke in the morning: the second an houre after noone; (These were a kind of pills, which made him go foure times to the stoole) at night he tooke the third. The disease still encreasing, the Father was brought that night to such a condition, that he became speechlesse, and all thought he would have died; neverthelesse he held out till the morning, when suddenly he mended so fast, that when the Physitian came and felt his pulse, he found him to be without any fevour; telling him, that he was cured, and that he should only have a care to eate moderately, till he had recovered strength; which accordingly fell out: for in a short time the Father was perfectly well.

They forbid not their patients to drink water, so it be boyled, or else *Chà*; but they will not allow them to eat; but if the patient be hungry he may eat lightly and with great caution: if he be not hungry, they do not much trouble themselves to perswade him to eat: for they say, when the body is sick, the stomach doth not well perform his office, and so the concoction which is then made, is malignant and contrary to health. His visit is presently rewarded with a moderate fee; nor doth he returne, unlesse he be sent for, leaving, by this manner, a liberty to the sick person to

change his Physitian, if he think fit, and to send for others; as many times they do, till the third or fourth day of their sicknesse, if they see no effect of the medicines they have taken.

CHAP. 12.

Of the Courtesies and Civilities of the
Chineses.

AMong the *Chineses* to uncover the head, or to *Scrape* a legge is not esteemed any courtesie, but rather contrary to good manners; especially to uncover the head: But to bow the body, or at least the head, when one can do no more, are accounted termes of *Courtesie* and good manners. And to speake first in generall; Their Courtesies are very low bowings of themselves even to the very ground, as is the ordinary mode in their visits and meetings: They call this *Ye* or *Coye*: Secondly they use the same reverence, and then suddenly to fall upon their knees, and in that posture to bow againe with their head even unto the ground: and in some cases they rise up againe upon their legges, & repeate the same *Ceremony* three times; which is the least; foure the most ordinary; nine the most that can be; and that is performed only to the King. Sometimes they shorten it, making their first reverence standing on their legges; and presently kneeling down, they make the three following on their knees.

The courtesie of the women is the same which is used among us; excepting, that in some cases, they also kneel, and in that posture make an obeisance with their head to the ground three or four times, as *civility* shal require.

They have for this purpose particular garments, which the common people do not use; it is also true, that among friends they do not use them; but never faile to do it with others: neither dare any one visit a Person of quality without such a *Vest*, or garment: But if they meet by chance, (not in the street, for such meetings they carefully avoyd) and both of them have not that garment above mentioned, which they call *Tai*, both the one and the other are excused from that *Ceremony* of the *Vest*: But if one of them hath it on, the other must presently put on his; which for this purpose is commonly carryed after him by a servant; and if by accident he hath not brought it with him, although he should be never so much importuned by the other, (who hath his *Vest* on,) to accept of the accustomed *Ceremony* and *Courtesie* from him, he may not consent to it, but avoyding the *Courtesie*, is to sit down and converse with him.

If one go to visit another at his house, he must stay in the Hall, till the other hath put on his *Vest*; But if he be a friend, he is to come presently, (although he be not ready with his *Vest*) and receive his guest, and to make much of him, and after that, he is to retire and put on his *Vest*.

This garment of *Courtesie*, for such as have taken degrees, is the same with the ensigne of honour, which they weare, in their government and the

the ensigne of their office. They that are noble by blood and descent, do wear the ensigne and habit of *Doctours*, although they have never studied. For Gentlemen and *Letterati*, who have not taken any degree, there is allowed for them to wear a wide large *Vest*, but much differing from that which is ordinarily worne. The Ministers and officers of the chief *Magistrates*, as also, in all the courts of justice, those who are under the *President* use this *Ceremonie*; which is, to take off the badge, which they weare upon their breast, and to put on a girdle of a small price; which they use only some few daies in the year, when they go about, to make their obeysance. The young people, if they have not taken a degree, use only their ordinary habit.

The *courtesie*, which the common people use, is to clap their hands one upon the other, and lift them up as high as their head. The same is used by friends and kindred, when they treat one another freely, and without *Ceremony*; and if they be equals, they both together do the same reverence once; only he is esteemed to have the advantage, that stands on the right hand; as among us, that takes off the hat last, though both do uncover. Among grave people the ordinary *Ceremony* used in their visits, invitations and meetings, is; that, standing on their feet they make an obeysance even to the ground once, without any more adoe: children to their Fathers on certain daies, as *New years day*, the Fathers birth-day, and other feasts, use the second courtesie of four bowings, standing on their feet, and four kneelings on their knees, and they to whom it is done, receive it fitting. The same *Ceremony* do the Scholars pay their Masters; who receive it standing. The same do the inferiour *Mandarines* use to the *Magistrate*, and Idolaters to the Idols, and the *Mandarines* to the King; excepting that these last hold an Ivory Tablet a palm and a half long, and four fingers broad, before their faces: finally, the King himself doth the same in the temples, and to his mother; and when he doth it, he holdeth the said Tablet of Ivory before his face.

The first time they see one another, and are Persons of an equall condition, and he that visiteth, or is visited, will shew an extraordinary affection and respect, he causeth a Carpet to be brought and spread before them, and after the first ordinary courtesie, they performe the second kneeling down four times, and this they do both together. They avoid, as I have said, all meeting abroad, as much as possibly they can; but if they cannot decline it, they salute one another by turnes out of their Sedans, lifting up their arms to their head, bowed in form of a bow, beginning at least 20 paces off before they meet, still doing the same very leisurely, whilst the encounter lasteth; If the one be inferiour to the other, and be carried in a Sedan, he causeth it to be set down on the ground; if he be on horseback, he alighteth and standeth on his feet; and as the other passeth by, he maketh him a profound reverence, even unto the ground: if they be not *Mandarines*, they performe the ordinary *Courtesie* to one another: if they be common people, they hold up their hands, and passe along.

The servants in great houses are not to do any reverence unlessse it be at certain times and occasions: as, when himself or his Lord or Master cometh home from abroad, or at the beginning of the new year, &c. They

fall down on their knees, bowing their head to the ground, once, or thrice.

The ordinary reverence, which they make before their Lords and Masters, is to stand upright with their armes hanging down. Those that belong to the *Tribunals*, and also the servants and serjeants of the *Mandarines*, in publick, alwaies speak to their Masters upon their knees; as also the *Plaintiff* and *Defendant*, with their caps off.

To give or receive a thing with one hand only, is accounted little manners, among persons of the same condition, and if an inferiour doth it to his superiour, it is an incivilitie. In a word, they are excessive in their *civilities* and good manners; which seems rather more proper for divine worship, than civill respect. To be courteous, and outwardly well composed, to do things with maturity, circumspection, gravity and evenness, they account among their chiefeft vertues: all which are expressed in this word *Li*: in which they comprehend also the circumstances of time, and habit; and the *Thie*, with which they are performed.

The *Thie* is a bill or book, with folds within and without, being about the breadth of ones hand, and a palm long, and it is of three severall fashions. The largest hath six leaves: the midling three, and the least one: and all use them according to the custome of the Province and the quality of the Person, that doth visite, or is visited. The *Colai* seldome use other, than the small ones.

That which is used in the ordinary visits is white with a red streak on the outside. If the visit be for to present their respects, or an invitation to a feast, it is all of red paper: if it be to condole, or for the death of any one, it is accommodated to the colour of mourning: if it come from one that is in mourning, the letters are *Azure*, as also the streak on the outside; the paper is white, but much differing from the ordinary paper, being only used upon this occasion.

This *Thie* containeth no more than one line of writing, which is that in the Margin; if it be a friend, or one that would shew himself such, he writeth the line quite out: if he be not such, he leaveth out the two first letters, and beginneth at the third place: if he would seem grave or stately, beside the two first he leaveth out also the fourth, and beginneth with the third, going on with the rest, which are never left out. The writing importeth thus much in English *Your Lordships most intimate friend, and the perpetuall schollar of your learning. N. cometh to kisse your hands, and to do reverence to your Lordship.*

This *Thie* is given to the porter, who presenteth it to his Master, and giveth him notice of the stranger, and who he is. Sometimes the visit is received, but not the *Thie*; and then he that receiveth the visit, is not obliged to returne it. But it is otherwise, when the *Thie* is left; for although it be only given to the porter, because the lord is not at home, or because he will not admit of a visit, yet he is obliged to return a visit to the other. Inferiours, as Souldiers to their Captaines, the lesser *Mandarines* to the greater, cannot make use of a *Thie*, but they make another kind of thing of the same forme, but much different in paper and style; neither may it have a stroke on the outside, or say, that they come to visit;
but

but only, who they are, what office they beare, and what their businesse is; and it is almost like a petition, which they call *Pimthie*, that is, a bill of advice. Those of the greater *Quality*, such as are the *Colai*, *Vice-royes* and the like, many times visit not, nor render a visit, in their own persons; but only send a *Thie* from their house, or leave it at the gate as they passe by.

They are as free of their visits, even to strangers, as we are to our familiar friends: but with the same facility and libertie, that they go to visit they will often excuse themselves, if they be visited; and it is enough to say, they are not at home, unlesse it be to a person of some great qualitie and respect; or that he hath often come to visit him; then they will hardly deny him admittance. By how much the person is of a greater and graver quality, with so much the more difficulty doth he admit of visits: and some to free themselves, & to avoyd the trouble of these *Ceremonies*, write upon a piece of paper in white letters, and clap it over their gate, *That they are retired to their garden house*; by which means they are excused from the molestation of these *Civilities*.

The visit must be, (like that of the Physitian,) in the morning; for towards the evening it is not esteemed to be of so much courtesie; nor must it be a visit by the way, going upon other businesse; and if at any time they make such a visit, they excuse themselves, saying, They will take another time to satisfie the intencion of their obligation and *devoir*.

For ordinarie visits they have no set time; there are times neverthelesse, wherein acquaintance, friends and kindred are obliged to pay this *Ceremony*. The chiefe and principall time is the *first day of the new yeare*; wishing one another an happy new yeare: at which time there is a great multitude of sedans, horses, and people up and down the streets: for then visits are most frequent. Many times they go not into the house, but leave a *Thie*, and go their way; and if they enter, they are obliged to eat and drink, although it be but a little. The second time is on the *fifteenth* of the same month; But the visits are not so frequent, and the feasting more, because it is at the ending of the *fifteen* days, which they call the feativall of *Lanthornes*; because during that time they set many of them up and down the streets on gates, and in windowes; and some of them are very faire and costly.

The third is the *Third* day of the *Third moone* which is in *March*; and is called *Cimnim*. They go all then to the sepulchres, to perform there their sacrifices and other *Ceremonies*; and although they bewaile their dead, certaine it is, that the living make good cheere among themselves.

The fourth is the *fift* day of the *fift moone*, which they call *Tuonh*. The people keep a feativall at that time in the streets and high-ways, and upon the rivers; although sometimes this is forbidden, by reason of the disasters, which often fall out upon the rivers.

The fift is upon the *Seaventh* day of the *Seaventh moone*, at what time they begg abilitie and power of the moone; as also they do the like upon the *Ninth* day of the *Ninth moone*. They visit one another and send Presents; and every feativall hath its Presents that are proper to it.

Beside these feativalls, they visit upon occasion of death, of changing their

their houses, of marriage, at the birth of a sonne, at the promotion to a degree or office, or higher dignitie, at the taking of a journey, upon the birth day, and especially when they enter upon any seaventh year of their age, and in these cases they must not make an empty visit, but are always to send some Present.

When one undertaketh a long journey, all his friends visit him, and send him presents. But when he returneth, he is to visit and present them; who performed those kind offices to him.

They visit likewise the sick, but only at the gate, who seldome admit of a visit within, unlesse it be from an intimate friend.

In these visits, they are very punctuall; sons towards their father; scholars towards their Masters; inferiours toward their superiours, and the whole Kingdome toward the King: so that on his birth-day, at the foure quarters of the year, and at the chiefe feastivals, the *vice-roy* together with all the *Magistrates* of the Province dispatch away an Embassadour to court to visit the King in the name of all that Province. They which reside at the court, as well *Letterati*, as Captaines; on the same days go in person to court, to do their *devoirs*.

They have severall Halls well accommodated for the receiving of visits; the first is common to all: The visitant may enter thither and sit downe, without giving any notice of his being there; And although he find not the porter to usher him in, they have another farther in, which they call the private Hall: Hitherto may their kindred and intimate friends come; but no further; least they should go into that part of the house, which is called *Hui*, and is the place where the women are; whither the serving-men of the house are not suffered to come, unlesse they be very young. In the outward Hall they come to receive their visitants; and after the ordinary courtesies are performed, the master of the house with his owne hands bringeth a chaire, and sitteth it with a cushion, and if they are many, he bringeth chaires, and accommodateth them for them all. And afterward, they al of them accommodate a chaire for him. He leaveth every one to take the place that is due to him; and if it be not, that some one of them hath a particular respect, due to his dignity or office, the sonnes, cousins, scholars, &c. take place according to their age; and if they do not know one anothers age, they ask it. The Master of the house taketh always the lowest place. After they are seated, presently the drink called *Cia* is brought in, which they also take according to the same order of precedence.

In some Provinces, the often presenting of this drink is esteemed the greater honour: But in the Province of *Hamchen*, if it be brought the third time, it intimateth to the visitant, that it is time for him to take his leave. If the visitant be a friend, and maketh any stay, presently there is a table set with sweet-meats and fruits: nor do they ever make drie visits; which is the custome almost of all *Asia*, contrary to the use of *Europe*.

In exercising their courtesies, (whether it be a son before his father, or a scholar before his master,) for the most part they are more hearers, than speakers; the young people being never forward in speaking. The termes which they use in speaking are very honourable, and full of respect toward

ward others, and humble toward themselves : and as it is not good manners to call any one *You*, in *Spain* or *Italie*, so neither is it among them to say *I*. Wherefore they never use this word, but other termes in stead of it as the Foster-child, the Scholar, &c. And the sonne, when he speaketh to his father, nameth himselfe *His youngest Sonne* ; although he be the eldest, and is already married : servants to their masters stile themselves *Siaove* ; and the youngest of them *Siaoti* : he that pleadeth at a Tribunall, stileth himselfe *the delinquent* ; a Christian at his confession *the sinner* ; the women in the palace (excepting the Queenes) and the Eunuchs speaking to the King, use *your majesties slave*, *Napor*, every one else speaking to the King nameth himselfe *vassall*, *Chin*. If one doth not speak of his owne person, but of such as belong to him, he is to use modest terms and expressions, The father saith of his sonne, *My young sonne*. The Master, *My young scholar*, and the sonne speaking of his father, calleth him, *The father of the house* ; The servant of the Master, *The Lord of the house*.

In speaking one with another they use alwaies honourable Titles, as amongst us *Your worship*, *Your honour*, &c. but they have this quality besides, that even to mean and inferiour people they give an honourable name, as to an Host, *Chiu, Gin, Kia, the man, Lord of the house*. To a barge man, *The chiefe man of the vessell*. To a mulitier, *The great wand*. But if they would anger him, they call him by his ordinary name, *Can Kio*, that is, persecutor of the feet. To servants, if they be grave men, *The great master of the house*. To the ministers of the courts of justice, and to them which waite on the *Mandarines*, *Man on horseback* or *Cavalier*, and yet they always go on foote. If they speak to a woman, although she be not of kin to them, they call her *Tasao*, that is, sister-in-law ; but sometimes it happeneth, that he which cannot speake the language well, in stead of sister in law, calleth her *Broome*, by an equivocation of the word.

In speaking also of such things, as beloug to him they speak to, it is to be done in certaine particular phrases: So that if he speak of his sonne, or servant he is not to say, *Your Lordships sonne*, but the *noble sonne*, *Limlam* ; if he mention the daughter, he saith, *The precious love*, *Limgai* ; and so of others, even of sicknesse and infirmitie he is not to say simply, how doth he with his maladie ? but with *his noble indisposition*, *Quei Yam* ? Among the common people, (who do not use these Punctilios) if they do not know one another, they call *Brothers*, *Hium*. But if they are acquainted *I* and *you*, as they list, without any ceremony.

As they are so punctuall and excessive in the manner of their treating and naming one another ; so also are they in the diverse names which they have, and which they take up according to their age. These are of five sorts.

The first is the *Sir-name*, which they take infallibly from their Father, and never that of the Mother, or the Mothers Father ; but the Mother takes the name of the Husband.

The second is a name which they call, *The little or young name*, which the Father imposeth ; when they are little ones ; and it is commonly the name of some living creature, or flower, or of some day, &c. and by this name only the Father and Mother may call them ; but the servants only by the

the first, second, and third, &c. as hath been said.

The third is when he goeth to school; for the Master giveth him another name, which, joyned with the *Sir-name*, composeth a name, by which both his Master and Schoole-fellows call him.

The fourth, when they put on the *Nett* or *Caule* upon their head, of which we spake before: this is done when they are seaventeen or eighteen years of age: for at that time particularly, if one marry a wife, he taketh a new name, which they call a letter; and by this all may call him, except the servants.

The fifth is at the going out of his youth, when he assumeth an other name, which they call *The great Name* or *Hao*; by this all may call him, excepting himself and his parents.

Now to return to the Hall, where we left the guests conversing; at their departure, the Guests joyning all together make an ordinary reverence to the Master of the house, giving him thanks for their good entertainment; and he accompanieth them out to the street; where if they came on foot, both parties make ordinary reverence to each other and depart; if on horse-back, or in a sedan or coach, then they make three reverences; and the third *Congie* is made at the gate; where presently the Master of the House goeth in, and the Guest taketh horse; for to ride or take coach in his presence is not counted good manners. When they are on horseback, or in the sedan, the Master of the House commeth out again, and they take leave of one another, and when they are gone a few paces off, they interchangeably send a servant with an embassie or message (*To Pai Xam*) and recommendations.

When the visit is the first time made, and the Person be of quality, commonly tis with a present, as soon as they are come in: and for the most part in *China*, the ordinary and constant presents are some stuffs, ornaments for women, things of use, as Shoes, Stockings, Handkerchieffes, *Porcellane*, Inke, Pensils, and things to eat; and they do commonly choose those of the best sort to present.

The Present, if it be of things to eat among friends, it is to be of 4. 6. 8. or more things. With the present is sent also a *Thie*, or bill of visit, wherein is written what they have sent. If he do not accept of it, it is no discourtesie; neither if he take part only; and send back the rest: but he must answer him with a *Thie*, giving him thanks, and excusing himself, that he did not receive it; or if he do take part, he is to write, what he took, and what he sent back. Among men of greater quality, and that will shew respect to a Person without doing much harm to their purses, they write first, the things which they will send, and send the *Thie*, before they send the present; of which, because it ordinarily consisteth of many things, they do not receive all; and he who is presented maketh a prick at those things written in the *Thie*, which he will receive: then he, which presenteth, buyeth only the things which the other hath pricked, and letteth alone the rest: if he accepteth of them all, he buyeth them all and sendeth them.

There are some Imaginarie presents, of which, he that presenteth them, is secure, that little or nothing of them will be received; and yet they consist

consist of many things in number, as sometimes of thirty or forty: and are costly in their quality; and pieces of Dimask, and other silk stuffe, silk stockings, and many things to be eaten, as Hens, Ducks, &c. These things are many times hired, and that which is received, is paid for, the rest are sent back to the owner, with some consideration for the loan of them.

The custome is, that he, who receiveth a Present, is to return another æquivalent to it. Excepting alway edible things among friends; and that which any bringeth, when he cometh from abroad, and from Countries where those things are particularly to be had. Neither do they remunerate those, which they call *Presents of dependencie*, as from the inferiour to the superiour; from the Master to the Scholar; nor of pretenders and suitours.

It is also the custome to give the Page or Servant, which bringeth the Present, some mony, more or lesse, according to the quality of the present, shewing great respect to him that sends it.

They of *Kiamsi*, as more expert in their expences, and more cunning in the *Lesina*, or art of thrift, are very subtle and skilfull in this particular; and for a Present which is worth a Crowne, they say, they are to give the servant six pence, and proportionably in the rest.

CHAP. 13.

Of their Banquets.

Much time and money is consumed by the *Chineses* in their *Banquets*; by reason they are almost continually at them. There is no meeting, departure, or arrivall, or any prosperous successe of a friend or kinsman, which is not celebrated with a *Banquet*; nor any accident of disgust or grief, for which they do not likewise make a *Banquet* of consolation; nor any businesse of importance, but it is to be treated of at a *Banquet*, neither without one do they begin any work, or finish any building. They make many others upon no other motive but this, *Comedamus, & bibamus, cras enim moriemur*; let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.

It is very ordinary among the common people, and particularly among officers of the same office, to have *Co-fraternities* which they call a *Brotherhood* of the month. The *Brotherhood* consisteth of thirty, according to the number of daies therein; and in a circle they go every day to eat at one anothers houses by turnes, making a *Banquet*, like that of the sonnes of *Job*. If they have not convenience to receive them in their own house, they provide it at another mans, there being at this day many public houses very wel furnisht for this purpose. If he wil have it at home, but without any trouble to his *Family*, he appointeth, how many messes he will have, how many dishes, and what meat; and they are brought home to him very well drest.

Those of the North are very much different from them of the South: for they of the South are very exact, even to the least matters in these courtesies of *Banquets*, and they do esteem themselves more friendly and courteous, than the others; as in truth they are.

In their *Banquets* they are more carefull to have varietie, and to have it well drest, than for the quantitie of the meat : and feast more for conversation and to treat with one another, than to eat and drink; although they do both the one and the other pretty well. They drink at the beginning of the feast, and so continue it with wine and meat, without bread or rice, till the guests say, they have had wine enough : Then presently the rice is brought, and the glasses are set by, and there is no more drinking.

In the Northern Countries their custome is contrary to this : The ceremonies are but few, the Messes well furnisht, the dishes large and full : and when the ordinary ceremonies are performed, which are usuall through the whole Kingdome, they begin with the meat ; and every one taketh that which pleaseth him best, and as much as he can eat ; meanwhile without quenching thirst, either with wine or water : for then they drink neither. They conclude with rice. When the dishes are taken away, they discourse about an houre ; and then they serve in others, only of salt meats, as Gammons of Bacon, tongues, and such like things, which they call *Guides*, that is, of wine ; and then they begin to drink.

To speak in generall of the whole Kingdome ; they do not usuallly drink wine, neither at dinner, which is in the morning five hours before noone, nor at supper, which is about foure a clock in the afternoone ; but at night before they go to bed, then using salt meats, as is above said : and for this reason their *Banquets* are most commonly at night, making use of the daylight for their studies and businesse ; supplying this light at night with candles, of which they have great quantitie, made of a certaine oyle, which they harden up with a little waxe ; which serveth them in the winter ; reserving for the summer those which are made of waxe ; of which they have three sorts : The one is Bees waxe ; the other is taken out of the holes of a certain sort of Snakes, much better than the other, and much whiter, without any art used to it. The third is taken from a tree, whose fruit is like our filberts, and the meat very white. And though this last, be not so good as our waxe, yet it is better than suet : it melteth very well, and maketh very good candles.

The people of the better qualitie make *Banquets* of more state, for they have houses of recreation, either in the City, or very neere it for this purpose ; adorned with many costly pictures and other curiosities. And if the person invited be an Officer, or man of great qualitie, although the use of *Tapestrie-hanging* in *China* is very rare, yet for the entertainment of these, they hang their houses with them very curiously, even the ceiling and all. The number of their Tables sheweth the greatnesse of the *Banquet*. One Table for four, or one for two, is ordinary. But for persons of greater account they set one Table for each ; and sometimes two ; one to eat at, and the other to set the dishes on. The Tables at these *Banquets* have all *Frontalls*, or a peice of linnen hanging downe from the edges, but neither Table-cloath nor Napkins, using only their *Charan*, a neate and polished varnish, with which their Tables are covered. They lay no knives, the meat being all carved out before it come from the kitchen ; nor forke, using two little sticks, with which they eat very dexterously. They set neither salt, pepper, nor vineger, but yet musterd, and other sauces, of which they have

have many and very good. They serve in at the same *Banquet* flesh and fish; boyld and roast; fry'd meat; and meat in pottage and white-broth; and severall other viands drest after their manner; and very good. They use broths much; but they never serve up any without flesh or fish in it, or a kinde of PASTE, like that which the Italians call *Vermicelli*.

Anciently they used neither Tables nor seats, but according to the custome of the greatest part of *Asia* and *Africa*, they sate and eat upon the pavement, covered with mats; and to this day, their writings and books speaking of Tables, use for the significative letter of Table, that which signifieth a mat. The *Giapponesses*, with most of the neighbouring Kingdoms, even to this day, keep their ancient custome, of sitting and eating upon the ground: but the *Chineses*, from the reign of *Han*, have used seats and Tables; of which they have many beautifull ones, and of severall fashions.

In the disposition of their invitations, courtesies, and entertainments they have much superfluitie; as well before the coming of the guests, as at the beginning, prosecution, and conclusion of their *Banquets*. Before they begin to eat, the master of the house inviteth them to fall to. About the middle of the feast they change their little cups for greater: they force none to drink, but modestly invite them. The times, when they most commonly and infallibly make their banquets, are the feastivall days, both of the year, and of each man in particular, as marriages, &c. Besides other infinitie occasions above mentioned.

The better sort of people, when one takes a journey, or returns from another Countrie, do make a *Feast*; and it falleth out many times, that on the same day they are faine to go to seaven or eight invitations, to comply with their friends. Some daies before the *Banquet* (that is when they have time enough) they send a *Thie*, by which they make their invitation, and pray them to accept of it. If they refuse, they excuse themselves with another *Thie*. But if they accept of it, they send them another *Thie*, which they call the *Thie of solicitation*. The time of the *Banquet* being come, they commonly stay, till all are met; entertaining themselves in the outward Hall. When all are come, they enter into the Hall of the *Banquet*; and the master of the house performeth the usuall ceremonies to them all, as well in sitting, as in placing the cups and *eating-sticks*. The ceremonies being ended, they all seate themselves in their order; and the master of the house taketh care to go up and down, and invite them to eat and drink. Their *Banquets* are very long, and they spend much time in discoursing; but the ordinary custome is to have *Musick* and *Comedies*; and the Comedians are obliged to act whatsoever the Guests command them. At length the *Banquet* endeth, by the importunate entreatie of the Guests; to which he that inviteth them, still seemeth to make resistance. The day after the feast, all the Guests send their *Thie* to the person that invited them, which containeth partly the praise and commendations of the *Banquet*, and all that they had there, and partly their thanks to him that gave it them.

CHAP. 14.

Of the Games which the Chineses use.

PLAYING at Cards, (which are like to ours in form and figures, which are all black and without colours) hath penetrated, even to this remotest part of the world, and is the common recreation of the meaner sort of people, but is not used by the *Nobilitie*. But the game of the *Nobilitie*, and graver sort of people, as well to passe the time, as to winne mony, is that of *Chesse*, not altogether unlike ours. Their *King* can never remove, but into the foure neereſt places to his own *Station*; which is also the law for the two *Bishops*. They have no *Queen*, but two other men, which they call *Vasi di Polvere*, or vessells of dust, very ingenious: These stand before the two *Knights*; and before them two *Pawnes*; the which are placed in the next row before the other *Pawnes*. These men have a motion like to our *Rookes*, but cannot *Check* the contrary *King*, but only, when between one of them and the *King*, there is another man immediately interposed; whether it be his own man, or an enemy. So that the *King* may avoyd that *Check* three manner of ways: either by removing into the next place, or by interposing another man; or else by taking away that man, that stood betwixt him and his enemy, & so, by laying himselfe open, he is defended.

They have another grave game among them, which is as followeth. On a *Chess-board* of 300. places; they play with 200. men; a hundred white, and a hundred black: with these, each endeavoureth to drive the others men into the middle of the *Chess-board*, that he might be master of the other places: in conclusion he that hath gained himselfe most places, winneth the game. In this game the officers do passe their time with a great deale of delight, and often spend a great part of the day at it; for between those that are skilfull, one game will take up an hours time. Those that are expert at this game, are well esteemed, though it be only upon this account; and are therefore often called and received, as masters of this *Game*, with all ceremonie.

The *Chineses* also use the game of *Dice*, which have the same shape and points, as ours, without any difference.

The common people do much use a game called by the *Italians* *Gioco Della Morra*, casting out their hands, and fingers, as they do at that game in *Europe*. They play most at it in their *Banquets*, between two, who shall drink; and he that loseth, gaineth the drink.

The *Nobilitie*, for this purpose, have a drum placed without the Hall, where they eat; and there standeth a man, who beateth on it at adventure as many stroaks, as he thinks fit; and when he beateth on the drum, they begin to count from the first man of the *Banquet*; and he at whom the drum stoppeth, is obliged to drink. In the City of *Nankin* there is another game much practised among the common people. They buy a couple of Capons, the best they can find, or else fish or *Porcellane*, or what other thing they please; but it must be excellent in its kind to excite an appetite

petite in others to win it. Then one holdeth in his hand, ten pieces of their mony, the which have letters on the one side, and on the other nothing. This man offereth them to him that will throw, and he throweth them ten times; and if in any of these times all the pieces light with the same side upward, either written or not written, he gaineth the reward that is proposed, if not, he loseth an halfe-penny.

There is not wanting in *China* the game of *Cock-fighting*, which is used also throughout all *India*: they have *Cocks* bred up for this purpose. Before they fight they fasten to each legg neare to their spurs a small razor: then he that keepeth the field, having made the other fly or fall, is *Conquerour*, and winneth the other cock, and whatsoever was abetted on his head. But because many times they wound one another so just at the same time, that they both fall together, that Cock, which after he is fallen, pecks at the other, or croweth, is accounted *victour*.

They combate after the same manner with *Quailes*; and to his purpose they commonly breed up the *Cock-Quails* with great care. This *Game* is particularly in request among the *Kings* kindred, and the *Eunuches* of the Palace, in which they spend a great deale of mony. These birds do fight very furiously and desperately.

They fight likewise with *Grillo's*, or *Cricquets*, and this sport is much used in the Spring time. They have little houses made of clay very artificially to keep them in: when they fight them, each man pulleth out his *Cricquet*, and putteth him into a Bason, or other clean vessell, and, with a little slice, or spattle, they put them to one another, and when they are neere enough to launce at one another, they do it with such fury, that many times one will fetch off the others leg at the first blow. He that conquereth, presently singeth, and winneth the game. This game is much used in *Pekim*, and particularly by the *Eunuchs*, who spend a great deale of money at it.

They do not permit young children, that study, to play at any game; the bigger sort have games proper to their age, which are very like those our youth have in *Europe*.

They are forbidden to play at cards or dice; and if they be taken, or accused for it, they are chastised and condemned to a pecuniary mulct; and some are imprisoned only for spending too much time at play. For among them *Tù Pó*, that is, glutton of play, soundeth as ill, as any other vice, which we abhor here.

CHAP. 15.

Of their Marriage.

IN the Kingdome of *China*, (as doth plainly appear by their books, and Chronicles,) formal *Marriages* and indissoluble after contract, have been in use above 2400 yeares; and in ancient time they used certain particular Ceremonies at the celebration thereof, one of which was, giving the hand. But these have been changed by time, some being taken away, and many others added.

Always

Alwaies from that time to this, there hath been among them two kinds of *Marriage*; one a true one, with a matrimoniall contract for their whole life between the two parties; and then the woman is called a *wife*; and treated as such, and received with extraordinary Ceremonies.

The second is rather a *Concubinage* permitted by their lawes, in case they have no children by their *wife*; especially sonnes, but now it is grown so common, that although some do forbear having them upon the account of vertue; yet it is very ordinary among rich men, to take *Concubines*, although they have children. The manner is very different from the true and legitimate *Marriage*; for although they contract after some sort with the Father of the maiden: and that they treat one another as kindred; yet in truth she is bought and sold; and many times by a Person that hath no relation to her, but only that he bred her up for that purpose; for there are many in *China*, which breed up young maidens, and teach them Musick, and dancing, and other perquisites of womens breeding, only to sell them afterwards for *Concubines*, at a great price. Yet however it is not accounted a *Matrimony*; nor hath it the solemnities of *Marriage* belonging to it; nor any obligation of perpetuity; but the man may put her away; and she may marrie with another; there being no law which prohibits it, in case she be wholly withdrawn from the company of the first.

The manner of treating them is very different. They eat apart by themselves in their own chambers: and are in subjection to the true *wife*, and serve her in some things, as her Servants. The children which they beare, do not do them reverence as to a mother, but they pay it to the true *wife*, whom also they call mother. Hence it is, that if the *Concubine* die that bore them, they are not obliged to three years mourning, nor to deprive themselves of entrance into the examinations, nor (if they govern,) to quit their charge; which, (as you shall hear hereafter,) is to be done at the death of their parents: Therefore, although he be an only sonne, he is not obliged to these duties: but only when his Fathers lawfull *wife* dieth, although she be not his true mother. When the *Husband* dieth, the government of the estate and family falleth to the lawfull *wife*, and to the children, whether they be, by her, or by the *Concubine*. But when the lawfull *wife* dieth, it falleth to the *Concubine* and her children, if she have any.

Sometimes it falleth out, that they take a *Concubine*, and keep her only, till she bring them a sonne: for, if the lawfull *wife* will not suffer her to stay, as soone as the child is born, they send her away, or marry her to another; & the child which staith behind, never knoweth her who bore him, acknowledging only for his Mother his Fathers lawfull *wife*. It happeneth also many times, that a man taketh an excessive affection to his *Concubine*, and then all goeth amisse, but only in what belongeth to the outward observance, which must not be changed. *Widows* may marry, if they will; but they that are women of qualitie seldome or never do it; no although they be young and have no children. They are to live in their Father in laws house, and are for this reason much esteemed.

In the legitimate *Marriage* for the most part, they observe an equalitie of

of estate and condition; but in their *Concubines*, they have regard only to their naturall endowments. They may not marry with any of their kindred on their Fathers side, in no degree whatsoever, nor with any of the same *Sir-name*; but they may marry with their kindred on the Mothers side, if they be in a remote degree; but that is not so exactly observed. A young maid will hardly marry with a widdower, which they call *patching up the house, and the bed*.

They never marry, although they be never so great friends, without a Mediator, or one that goeth between both parties; wherefore they chuse whom they please, there being as well men as women, who perform this office. The *Bride-groom* never seeth the *Bride*, before he entreth the doore to take her for his wife: there Fathers marry their sonnes ordinarilie very young, & promise them in *Marriage* even from little children, & sometimes before they are borne, which promise these punctually performe, although their Fathers die before the time, or one of the parties fall from his honour, or estate, &c. excepting both parties voluntarily agree to break off the contract: & if by chance the sonne for some respects will not stand to the contract made by his father, they compel him by law to perform it.

In *China*, before the Father die, there is no formall portion given, either to sonne or daughter; among the meaner sort of people the ordinarie custome is, not absolutely to buy their *wives*, as some say, but the *husband* giveth a certain quantitie of mony to the Father of the maid, with which to buy her clothes, and ornaments for her head, suitable to her qualitie. This summe is alwaies of the largest for that purpose; but the Fathers save as much out of it, as they can; what remaineth, being to accrue to them. Hence it is, that some have said, that the *Chineffes* buy their wives; there being not wanting some ground for this beleefe: for to this day they agree with the Father of the maid for so much money; which if it be not givethem, they wil not part with their daughter.

Among the *Nobility* there is no talk of giving any money, but the Father of the *Bride* is obliged to comply with what the stile and custome of that Kingdome requireth, each according to their abilitie: and commonly that which he giveth is all necessary Furniture for her apartment, excepting the bed; which, although all things are very cheap in that Country, will sometimes cost fifty Crowns. He giveth her four or two maid servants, to wait upon her, and some money; and of all this more or lesse, according to his ability. But land or possession they almost never give, unlesse the Brides Father be very rich, or that he would match her to some principall Person; and that only in case he have no sonnes.

After the contract is performed between their Fathers, then there follow many curtesies and compliments; as first, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the *Bride* a present of things to eat, as flesh, wine, and fruit; Secondly, a day is chosen for their *Marriage*: which, when it is resolved on by advice of *Astrologers*, is celebrated with great Ceremonie. The third is, to send to know the *Brides* name; and last of all, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the jewels to the *Bride*, that is, a ring and eare-pendants, &c.

The day before the *Bride* is to be received; they send from the *Brides* house the *Honshould-stuffe* and *Furniture* that is given with her; making a procession

procession with them; which is to be done about noone, that all may see it; The men that carry it, go two and two, each of them bearing a piece of household-stuff of the same kind, that the other doth, whether it be *Tables, Chaires, Chests, Curtains, Bed*, or what other thing soever.

The day following, in some Provinces, the *Bridegroom* goeth in person on Horse-back, with his Father and neereft kindred, to receive the *Bride*: who is carried in a sedan with great pompe and state. In other Provinces, especially towards the South, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the sedan toward the evening (they have some very curious ones, made only for this purpose, richly adorned with silk, and the doore to be locked on the outside) and a great deale of company to waite upon her with lights set in wooden frames like lanthornes. The mother after the *Bride* hath finished the usuall compliment, at parting, putteth her into the sedan and locketh the doore, and sendeth the key before to her sonne-in-laws mother; and so she departeth along with the company, who go all before her, excepting the maid-servants, which her Father giveth her, who go by her side.

When she is come to the *Bride-grooms* house, the mother-in-law unlocketh the sedan and taking out the *Bride*, delivereth her to the *Bride-groom*; Then they go both together to the Chappell, or Oratorie of their Idols, where are likewise kept the Images or names of their Predecessours. There they make the ordinarie reverence of bowing themselves foure times upon their knees, and presently they go forward into the inward Hall, where their parents are sitting in *Chaires*, to whom they make the same reverences; then the *Bride* retireth with her Mother-in-law, her waiting maids, and the woman that did negotiate the marriage, to the womens apartment; where she hath a particular chamber for her selfe and her husband; into which, as is abovesaid, no other man may enter, no not their Father or elder brother, so that if the Father would chastise the son for any fault, (which is ordinarie there for their Fathers to do, although their sonnes be married) if he can get into his wives chamber he is safe, for the Father may not enter there, nor speak with his daughter-in-law, except on some occasions, which are dispensed with: So carefull a watch do they keep on that *precious Gemme of Honour*. The *Bridegroom*, when he doeth not retire, stayeth with his Father, kindred, and friends, &c. Who spend many daies together in continuall feasts and banquetting: when the first month is over, the *Bride* returneth home to her Fathers house, which they call *Queinim*, that is retiring to rest.

The sonnes do all equally inherit; although they be but halfe-Brothers, and not begotten on the lawfull wife, having regard in this only to the Father. The sisters have no more than what is given with them at their marriage. If the Father die before he hath married his daughters, the brothers are obliged to bestow them in marriage; and the sonnes that are already married; (if the Father in his life time divide his estate among them,) are bound to maintaine their sisters, till they are married.

Neverthelesse in *China* there are some families, especially of the *Nobilitie*, where the eldest sonnes do inherit the *Majorasgo*, or the most considerable part of the land, if they have any that is so entailed; although they have other brothers. And these children are called *Que Cum, Chu, Hui, Heupè, Chei, Hei*.

CHAP. 16.

Of the Funeralls and Sepultures of the Chineses.

ALTHOUGH the *Chineses*, in many things, especially those which concerne the government of their life, have been of the same opinion with the *Europæan* Philosophers, yet they are very different from them in that which belongeth to *Death*. For the others have taken little or no care about the *Sepulture* of the body, whereas these esteem nothing more, using in their life time all possible diligence to leave every thing ready and in order for it; and their sonnes do in nothing more shew their pietie and obedience, than by putting it in execution after their Fathers death.

It is a generall custome of the whole Kingdome, not to bury any one barely in the earth, although it be a child of two daies old. Every one is to have his *Chest*, or *Coffin* according to his qualitie, and abilitie. Wherefore the rich men, (although the *Chineses* are very thrifty, and parcimonious) do in this exceed all extreames, seeking out wood for that purpose, of the greatest price and esteem, that they possibly can.

The *Eunuches* are the most excessive this way, because they have no children to inherit their wealth, giving many times 500 or 1000 Crowns for Bords to make a *Coffin*, though in realitie, these are not so much worth. For it happeneth many times, that going to a Merchant, that selleth this commoditie, the Merchant setteth them a price, asking them five or six hundred Crownes, but telleth them withall, that if they will have Bords of a thousand Crownes, he hath not any at present, but that he hath expected some a great while, and looketh every day, when they should arrive: and if his Lordship hath not extraordinary hast, praieth him to send some few daies hence, and he shall be accommodated. Here, the Merchant hath no more to do, but to change the paper, which is pasted upon those Bords, and with it the price; and when the *Eunuch* returneth he findeth bords of such price as he desireth. When the *Chest* is made with all sort of exquisite ornament on the outside, as of gold, *Charan*, and other gallantries; they keep it in their house, and many times in the same chamber where they lie, with much satisfaction and contentment. As contrariwise, if, being in yeares, they have not already made it, they are alwayes ill satisfied and discontented: and truly it is a great trouble and charge to the Sons, if they have ancient Fathers, and their *Funerall Chest* be not yet prepared.

This is the usuall manner of the whole Kingdome; but, because they have taken their religion from the *Pagods* of *India*, they have also entertained some of their Ceremonies and superstitions, who are buried after three severall manners, and that, before they die by the course of nature, in the earth, in the water, and in the fire, (as they do to this day in *Giappon*) some throwing themselves off from high places, others drowning themselves in rivers, with stones tied about their necks, and others, other wayes, which we will not here treat of. The *Chineses* are not so valiant to do this, while they are living, but being dead, if they are so poor, that they cannot make them a *Coffin*, they burne them, and bury their ashes. In the

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Province

Province of *Suchen* they burn the bodie, and put the ashes in earthen *Jarres*, close stopped; and then cast them into the rivers.

After the *Chest*, followeth the place of *Sepulture*, which every one provideth for himself and his posterity, without the wals: for within, it is not permitted. Of these places they make great account. Some have in them very convenient houses: they are kept lockt on the out-side, and within are full of *Cypresses*, (which they usually plant there,) and other trees, proper for that place. They are many times little worth, in respect of the quantitie of ground they contain; but do cost them a great deal of mony, if their *Astrologer* do judge them lucky places, and fortunate for the Familie; for none do make choice of them, without his opinion.

In *Burying*, they observe this order, to lay the chief of the Family in the uppermost place, and the rest by his side according to their degrees. On the topp of the *Sepulchre*, they place many ornaments wrought in stone; and before them they set Stone-statues of severall *Animals*; and (above all) *Epitaphs*; and stones graved with elegant compositions, in praise of the deceased. The great men, especially the Eunuches use another way of more vast expence. For they build in such places, *Sumptuous Palaces*, with Halls underneath them like *Cemeteries*; where there are *Niches* fitted to receive the *Coffins* of the deceased. These *Palaces* serve them when they go thither; and on *The day of the dead*; at which time the whole Family is assembled to make their Sacrifices and Ceremonies. For the poorer sort of people, that cannot have a peculiar place of *Sepulture*, there is ordinarily, in every City, a common place of *Buriall*.

They never faile to bury every one in the place of his *Sepulture*, although it be never so remote from that where he dieth; which happeneth often to the officers, who by reason they are sent to govern in severall parts of the kingdome, do many times come to die out of their own Country, and upon that occasion cause them to be brought home and buried there: neither doth it seem a custome voide of reason, *Jacob* and *Joseph* having used the same diligence upon that account.

At their death the first *Ceremony* is: that before the dying Person breathe his last, they bring him on a mattrasse, or quilt, into the outward Hall, where he is to expire. I do not know, what is the reason of this custome; neither is it generally used of all; for if he be a person of qualitie, they let him alone in his bed, and as soon as he is dead, his eldest Son plucketh off the *Coise* and Cap from his head, and pulling down the bed without any order overturneth the Beds-Tester and curtaines; and partly by tearing, and partly by breaking, pulleth every thing down, and with it covereth the Corps. If it be a woman, the women stay; and if it be a man, the men; presently washing the dead Body according to their custome. When they have washed it, they wind it in a fine linnen cloth, if he have any; or else in a piece of silk. After that, they cloathe him in the best garment that he hath, and upon him they lay the ensignes of his office and degree: and when he is, thus adorned: they lay him into the Coffin, which is made of very thick boards, and strongly joynted. On the inside of the Coffin they bestow two weights, which they call *Manos* of Bitumen; and after that one of *Charan*; and then

then there is no danger, that any ill smell can come through it.

The *Coffin* is then brought out, and placed in the outward hall, which is all hung with mourning. On the top of the *Coffin* they lay his statue made by the life, with his ensignes of honour, just as he lieth in the *Coffin*. Before it, they set a Table and a Carpet; behinde the *Coffin*, they hang up certaine curtaines; behind which, the women stand. On each side of the *Coffin* are his sonnes and grand-sonnes sitting on straw in very deep mourning. In the first open *Gallerie* set about with *Balusters*, which is before the hall, there stand Trumpeters on each side thereof; and at the great gate of the Palace, on the inside, in the Court, are two drummers: without the gate next the street there is hung out a great flagge, made of pieces of paper reaching almost to the ground, and it is a signall, that their mourning is provided, and that now they admit of visitants. After that, they advise all their friends and kindred thereof, sending them a *Thie* of Mourning, wherein, with words of much affliction and humilitie, they give them notice of their sorrow.

Then presently begin their *Visits* of *Condoling*, which are done in this manner: When the *Visitant* is come into the first Court, presently he putteth on his *Mourning-garment*, which he bringeth with him for that purpose. The drummer beateth his drumme to give notice of his arrivall, and while he passeth through the Court, the Trumpets sound; as soone as he cometh into the Hall, the women behind the *Curtains* begin to weep and lament. When he cometh up to the Table he layeth thereon a purse of paper; with money in it to the value of twelve pence, or eighteen pence; (which serveth for an *Aide* of the cost,) and some little perfumes: Then upon the Carpet he maketh foure reverences, part kneeling, and part standing on his feet: When they are ended, presently the Sonnes rise up from the place where they are, and go and place themselves on the left hand of the *Visitant*, and make him as many reverences, partly kneeling, and partly on their feet, at which time they are to weep, or at least to make as if they wept: When this is done, without speaking a word, they return to their places againe: In the meane time the *Visitant* goeth forward, and presently one of the remotest of the kindred, in slighter mourning, cometh to receive him, and leadeth him into another roome; where as soone as they are fate, presently there is brought in some of their drink, called *Chia*, and dried fruits, or else dried sweet meats; of which for the most part they do not eat, but taking a little, put it into their sleeve, and so take their leave.

This courtesie is esteemed so due, that those friends, who are at hand, may by no means omit it; and they who are farther off, if they dwell in neighbouring Cities, come in their own person: But if they live very farre off, they send one from home to do it in their name. This *ceremonie* commonly lasteth eight or ten daies. But they who live farre off, may come, or send to do it, at what time they please.

When the *Visits* are over, the eldest Sonne is obliged to go to all those of the same City, that came to *condole* with him at his house; but he hath no more to do, but to come to the gate; where (without) a Carpet is spread, wheron he maketh his reverence, leaveth a *Thie*, and goeth his way.

After this, they begin to think of the *buriall*, which (if they are able) is performed with a great deale of expence; if not, they leave the *Chest* standing at home, till they are better able; which is some times whole years first. They give notice of the *funerall* to their friends, by sending a *Thiè* to each, as at the first: Who being assembled, come presently to the place above mentioned. First of all, are carried the *Pageants*, which are severall great statues of men, Horses, Elephants, Lyons, Tigers, &c. They are all made of painted paper, and adorned with gilding. Besides these, are carried severall other machines, as Triumphant Chariots, Pyramids, and such like things; every thing being set out with various works, in silke, and flowres, and roses of the same materialls; all which is to be burnt; if the Person be of great qualitie: For otherwise all these are but hired, and none of them is burnt.

After these *Pageants*, followeth the multitude of people which come to looke on; then come all their friends cloathed in *mourning*; after these, the *Bonzi*, singing out their prayers, and sounding their Cymballs; after them, come another sort of *Bonzi*, who weare beards, and long haire, and leading a single life, live in communitie: These go playing upon severall muscical Instruments. After these, follow another race of *Bonzi*, of a different sect; These are shaved, and go along also saying their prayers. After these, come the more intimate friends; after them, follow all the kinsmen; after these, come the sonnes and grand-sonnes of the deceased Person, cloathed in a very *austere mourning*, bare footed, with certaine staves in their hand, fashioned like those which pilgrimes carry; so short, that they are little above two palmes long; and so they go along hanging their heads downe.

Immediately after these cometh the *Coffin*; which if it be made of precious wood, is uncovered, that it might be seen; else it is varnished over, and richly adorned with gold and *Charan*. It is placed on a very large *Machine*, carried sometimes by 30, 40. or 50. men, which is still the greater state, the more they are. Above it, is fastened a *Baldacchino* or cloath of state, which covereth it all over head, having his rich Tassels and strings hanging downe by the sides. Neere to this on both hands, are carried many lights in great wooden frames, made like lanthorns; behind the *Coffin*, are carried the women, crying and lamenting in sedans fast locked, and covered all over with mourning, accompanied in the same manner by their female-friends and kindred. When they are come to the place of *Sepulture*, they performe severall *ceremonies* both before and after the *Coffin* is buried: And a sumptuous banquet, (which they make for all those that accompanied the hearse) is none of the worst *ceremonies* among them. And this is one of the occasions, wherein they make use of those faire houses they build in those places.

When they are returned home, then followeth the time of *mourning*, and the *ceremonies* that are then observed; which are these that follow. The first and most universall, is to cloath themselves in the courtest and heaviest *mourning*; the colour thereof is white, not only in these Kingdomes, but also in *Giappon*, *Corea*, and many other neighbouring Kingdomes: and as it seemeth to me, this white colour was not chosen at the beginning

beginning for its one sake, but came in, as it were, by consequence: for they themselves cannot give any reason, why their predecessors chose it; and on the other side they know, that it is a cheereful colour, and as such they weare it at certain times: the reason therefore of it seemeth to me to be, because in *China* they make no cloath but of Cotton, Silk, and Hemp. Of Silk and Cotton there is no course cloath to be made, but of Hempe indeed there is, such as would make one afraid to see it. And because in its naturall colour it is more unsightly and horrid, than when it is died and coloured, they on purpose chuse to have it so: whence it being naturally white, by consequence, white came to be the proper colour for mourning.

This *Mourning* lasteth three whole years; during which time, the sons do never sit on a chaire, but on a little fourm, or stoole, covered with *Mourning*: they eat not at a Table, nor lie on a Bed-stead, but the bed is laid on the floore: they drink no wine, eat no flesh, nor use any Baths, (which are very common among them.) They go not to Banquets, nor do they go out of their doores, but in a Sedan close shut, and covered with mourning. They abstain from their own wives (as they say at least:) if there be any examinations in that time, they go not to them: they may not hold any publick office; and if, at the time, they do actually exercise any, their Father or Mother chance to die, although he be *vice-roy*, or *Colao*, he must leave his office, and attend to bury them, and to make their *obsequies*; and when the *Mourning* is ended, they returne to their charges and offices againe, and sometimes to greater.

This time is accounted so sacred among them, that it admitteth of no dispensation, except it be in their captaines and officers of warre. And because one of the Province of *Cantone* seemed more desirous of his government, than to observe his Mourning, and computing his time, resolved to spend the rest in his journey, which he wanted to make up his three years, when he came to the court, and petitioned for his office, it was promised him upon this condition, that he should returne home to his house, and fully accomplish his time of *Mourning*, and then he should come againe to court, and make his demand.

The number of three years, they say, is to give thanks to their Parents for the three yeares of their infancie, during which time they were carried more in their armes, than on their own legges. And therefore in those three yeares, in token of reverence, they may not innovate or alter any thing in the house from that order, which the Father kept in it.

For a wife they mourne but one year. There is a *Slighter Mourning* of five months and three daies, according to the neer nesse of their kindred and relation: Friends for their friends observe only Three daies of Mourning. They have all Mourning garments lye ready by them; there being so many occasions to weare them.

This is the manner of their *Mourning* and *Buriall* of the Persons of the greatest quality, which is encreased and diminished, according to the condition and qualitie of the Person. At the Funeralls of the Kings, and those of the royall Familie, the *Ceremonies* are much greater: and that they might the better be conceived, I will set down what passed

passed in the year 1614. at the *Funerall* of the *Queen-Mother*, where I my selfe was present.

CHAP. 17.

Of the *Funerall* of the *Queen-Mother*.

THE *Queen-Mother* died on the ninth day of the second Moon, which is the last of our March, in the year 1614. presently all the Court put on *Mourning*, not only the *Nobilitie*, but even the common people too; and especially the Kings officers and Ministers, who laying aside the ensignes of their dignitie; (which are both of *Authoritie* and *Ornament* to them) do change them for others of *Mourning* and *Serrow*: as their *Girdle* (which commonly they weare very rich) into a rope of course Hempe; and their *Cap* (which is of black Silk) into one made of the course cloath for *Mourning*. In this manner they went foure months, till the time of the *obsequies*. The common people wore only a *Mourning Cap* for foure and twenty daies, with so much exactnesse, that he that neglected it, was punished.

The second day, the King leaving the Palaces where he dwelt, passed over to those of his deceased *Mother*; which, although they are within the same wall, yet stand at some distance. They cloathed the dead body in white very richly; and every day till it was put into the *Coffin*, the King went in Person, with all the people of his palace to visit her, and to performe those ordinary Reverences and Compliments, used by children to their parents, putting rich odours and spices into a perfuming pan, which stood before her; all his women, Sons and Nephews, as also some of the *Principall Eunuches* of the Palace did the like with all *Solemnitie*. Then presently, by the Kings command, the garments, bed and other things which the *Queen* used, were burned: judging it an unworthie thing that ever they should be made use of by any Person inferiour to her in *dignitie* and *authority*.

On the third day the body was put into the *Coffin*. The excellency of the matter thereof may be easily imagined by what hath been already said, that even for private persons the price of one amounteth many times to a thousand crownes. The boards are very thick, and the *Coffin* very capacious. There the King himselfe plac'd her upon a *Quilt* and a *Pillow*, which were there laid, strewing upon her, pearle, and precious stones to the value of 70000. crownes, and placing by her side fifty pieces of cloath of gold, and fiftie of cloath of silver, which truly would have been enough to have maintained a gallant man all his life time. The *Coffin* was shut, and the King with the rest made their accustomed reverences, and departed.

On the fourth day the *ceremonies* were continued, cloathing themselves in a more austere and horrid *Mourning*, for to celebrate the *Sacrifices*, which

which in realitie are not sacrifices, but offerings, and pure ceremonies. The *Coffin* was placed in a spacious Court, as it were, upon a high Throne, and about it stood fifteen Tables: The first, that was in the front, was for the King; the rest for his women, *Sonnes* and *principall Eunuches*, who, after the King, according to their order, made their offerings with perfumes and reverences.

On the fift day, which was appointed for those who dwell without the Palace, there was assembled all the *Nobilitie* and *Titulados*, which they call *Que, Cum, Chu, Chen, Heupè*, who do all succeed by inheritance. After these, followed all those that were of Affinitie and Alliance with the King, that is, such as were married to his Daughters or Nieces. After these, the *Magistrates* of the six *Tribunals*: And after these, came the wives of the great Officers, who have jurisdiction over the whole Kingdome, such as are those of the six *Tribunals*, each in that which appertaineth to him; whether it be concerning the Revenue, or the *Militia*, or any other thing. All these in their order performed the *ceremonies* abovesaid: and so there was a period put to the first part of the *ceremonies*, which are used in the Palace before the *Funerall*; for abroad there were many things commanded, and severall edicts published; in which were intimated:

First, that all *Mandarines*, both of the *Gowne* and *Sword*, should make their appearance at the Palace the day following, to bewaile the *deceased Queen*: which done, without returning to their houses, they should go directly to their *Tribunalls*, there to remain and keep a fast for three daies, without eating flesh, fish, or eggs, or drinking any wine. That done, for the space of other three daies, they should come all to the gates of the Palace, and there in their order, one by one, should make foure accustomed reverences, with some other externall signes of griefe, and then returne home to their houses.

The second: that all the wives of the *Mandarines*, from the first to the fourth degree, cloathed from head to foot in close *mourning*, should assemble at the same place, and for the space of three days lament in the like manner: and that afterwards, at their owne houses, for the space of twenty seaven days, they should not put on their Jewells, ornaments, &c.

The third; that those of the *Royall Councell*, called *Han Lin* should all make Poems, verses, and compositions in praise of the *deceased Queen*.

The fourth: that they of the *Quan Lo Su*, that is, the Officers of the Kings exchequer and revenue, should, with all diligence and liberalitie, provide what ever was necessary, for the sacrifices and other expences of the funerall.

The fifth: that all the *Bonzi*, and ministers of the Idols, should ring their bells for a long time, as a signe of sorrow and griefe.

The sixth: that for thirteen daies there should be no flesh killed, or sold in the shambles: but that all should fast, as the King did; who, for the first three days, did eat only a little rice boyled in faire water, and the rest of the time, pulse only.

The seaventh; there was order given to the President of the Councell of rites and ceremonies, and to those of the chamber, that they should present *mourning* garments to all the Embassadours, who did then actually reside

side in the Court; and that they should be brought to the Palace and performe one day the *ceremonies* and compliments in like manner, as the people of the Country did.

The eighth: that all *Mandarines*, that had finished their government, and all new pretenders should come for three days to the Palace, to do the same reverences and *ceremonies*.

The ninth: that the common people, for a week together, should do the same, morning and evening, at the Palace of the Governour of the City.

Besides this, all the *Mandarines*, dispersed through the Provinces and Cities of the Kingdome, were written to; that at the arrivall of the newes of the *Queen-Mothers* decease, they should give notice thereof to all the blood royall of the Male line, and to their wives and children; and order, that they should make the three accustomed reverences, and other *ceremonies* on their knees; and immediately to cloath themselves in *Mourning* for seaven and twenty days. This order was given to all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, as well to those that had govern'd, as to those that did actually governe, as also to all *Litterati*, of what degree soever, as likewise to those that had not received any degree.

To the common people there was order given, that they should weare *Mourning* caps for thirteen dayes.

Moreover it was ordered, that as well in the Palaces of the *Mandarines*, as in the publick Innes on the high wayes, and in small villages, where travellers are lodged at the Kings expence, no musick, either of voice or instrument, should be suffered. And this order was divulged by *Mandarines* appointed only for this occasion. And when this order came to the Court of *Nankim*, all the officers, both of the *Gowne* and *Sword*, went out to meet it as farre as the river, all in deep *Mourning*, even to their *Umbrellas*, wherewith they keep off the sunne, and accompanied it through the City, in an orderly proceSSION, as farre as the *Tribunal* of rites and *ceremonies*; where the President received the order in writing; and set it up in an eminent conspicuous place, and all of them did their reverence to it; after that, he tooke the letter and opened it, and made proclamation of the order, although there wanted nothing to the execution thereof, but that the common people had not yet their *Mourning* caps.

These were the *ceremonies*, which preceded the *Funerall*; the which being ended, order was given to the *Mathematician Major*, or chiefe Astrologer of the Court of *Pekim*, that he should make choise of a day or days, whereon the *Obsequies* should be solemnized. He, after he had consulted his art, appointed the ninth day of the sixth moone (four months compleat after the *Queens* death) to be the day, whereon the corps should be brought out of the Palace, and the fifteenth of the same moone, for the day of the *Funerall*. The time being come, order was given for the solemnizing thereof in form following.

First; that all the *Mandarines* of the Court, and *Magistrates* of the six *Tribunals*, six days before, should leave their own houses, and make their abode at their *Tribunals*, and should fast for three dayes in manner above-said.

Secondly

Secondly, that the Officers of the Kings Patrimoine and Revenue should prepare whatsoever was necessary, for that occasion; that is, great quantitie of Candles, Perfumes, Spices, great store of *Phantasticke* figures, and Images of men, Horses, Lions, Elephants, *Umbrellas* of Silk, all richly set out, that they might be burnt at the place of *Sepulture*. It is reported, that there were spent in this above 30000 Crowns. I make no doubt, but so much was spent; but that it was afterwards all burnt, is hard to be proved; It may be, fame was something extravagant in that particular.

Thirdly, that they of the Colledge of *Han Lin* should anew, make other verses proper for the *Funerall*.

Fourthly, because the King was to accompany the Body to the *Sepulture*, which is twelve miles distant from the Court, he named another Person, who in his stead should performe all the compliments and necessarie *Ceremonies*.

Fifthly, order was given to all the Officers, Captaines, & Souldiers, that they should keep a Guard in the City, and at the *Sepulchre*, and that they should accompanie the Body, by the way, in this manner, That at every gate of the City, (which are nine in all) there should stand a thousand men; That from the gate, through which the Body was to passe, to the place of *Sepulture*, there should stand two rancks of Souldiers: that there should be 3000 to carry the *Coffin* by turnes; and 10000 horsemen to accompany it: and for the Guard of the *Royall Sepulchres*, while the *Obsequies* lasted, 40000.

Sixtly, order was given to leuell the way from the Palace to the place of *Sepulture*, and to raile it in on both sides, that the people might not stop up the way. At every twenty paces, there was set a basket of yellow earth, for to strow in the way, as the Hearse passed; as also, that Tents, and Pavillions should be set up in certaine places: for the refreshment of those that accompanied the Body.

Seaventhly, command was given to all the officers of the revenue, that they should provide, with all punctualitie and liberalitie, whatsoever was necessary for the sustenance and diet of the *Mandarines*, *Eunuchs*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and all others, that by duty of their place, attended upon the *Funerall Solemnitie*.

Eighthly, that three daies before the *Funerall*, the *Mourning*, Lamentation, Reverences and Sacrifices should be renewed in like manner, as at the beginning.

Ninthly, and lastly it was commanded; that from the seaventh (that is, two daies before the *Funerall Solemnitie* began) to the twentieth of that Moon, no Shambles should be opened, neither flesh nor fish sold, in any manner, nor that any noise of mirth, or Muscall instrument should be heard any where throughout the City.

All things being set in order for the *Funerall*, on the seaventh of the sixth moone the King and Prince with all the officers, went to the Temple of his *Ancestours*, which standeth within the *Royall Palaces*: where, cloathed in deep Mourning, and coming before the Image of the first founder of his Familie, he made a low Reverence, and after offered to his deceased Mother, whose Image was yet standing there, many Garments

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of

of silk, wine, and other things. Then he commanded that one of the compositions made in her praise, should be read; after which using severall other Reverences and Ceremonies, they all returned; and the King left particular order, that all those Garments, Poems, and other things should be burned.

On the eighth day, were made Sacrifices to Heaven, Earth, the Planets, Mountaines, and Rivers, with great Solemnitie; when these were ended, the King commanded, that the same Sacrifices should be made to the nine Gates of the Palace, through which the Corps of the deceased Queen was to passe; and to the Tutelar Angels of them; as also the six Bridges of the River, which runneth through the Palace, offering in all these places living creatures, Aromaticks, wine made with severall Spices and ingredients, and diverse other perfumes.

The Chest or *Coffin*, in which the deceased Queen lay, was of the most precious and dearest wood, that could be found in that Kingdome, and was shut and closed up with all possible art and diligence, and clasped on the outside with hasps of Silver, made in the forme of Dragons: neither was there any Gold, or *Charan*, used for the Ornament thereof, that that precious wood might be left more bare and open to the sight. It was placed in a Triumphant Chariot very richly wrought, with its Curtaines of silk embroidered with Gold. Moreover the Chariot was adorned all over with plates of Silver, cast in the figures of Lions and Dragons, and other works, all performed with exquisite art and diligence. About the Hearse stood many Candles and perfuming pans.

The fifth day being come, which was appointed by the Kings *Mathematician* for the carrying of the Corps forth of the Palace, the King with his Women, Sonnes, and the Eunuches of the Palace, came to the place, where the Chariot, that carried the Hearse, stood; where, after they had renewed their lamentations for their departed Queen, they Sacrificed to the Chariot it selfe, or to the God and Genius thereof; that the voyage might be prosperous; and that the Body might enjoy quiet and securitie; then Sprinkling sweet waters upon the Hearse, they made their last Compliments and Reverences.

Presently the *Eunuchs* (for no others enter there,) put themselves in order to draw the Chariot, the King accompanying it with all his Familie to the last, that is, the eighth Gate of the Palace, where, with new laments, *Ceremonies* and complements, he took his leave.

Then within the first gate stood ready, they that were to receive the Corps, and in the Kings name and stead, were to accompany it, and to make the Sacrifices and *Ceremonies*, that were to be performed at certaine places. Then presently began the Procession, with such solemnitie, order, and silence, that it caused admiration in all that beheld it. It went no further that day, than to a Town without the walls; neer to which there was a Tent set up very richly adorned, where the Chariot was put; and the Tables likewise being, set, they did Sacrifice, and burned Incense and Perfumes, and performed other *Ceremonies* and Reverences; and last of all they renewed their Lamentations. From this place was dispatched an *Eunuch* to give the King full account, whither, and

and how the Body was arrived, and of all that passed there.

The day following was begun with the *Ceremonies* and other *Funerall solemnities*, with which the day before was concluded; and their journey continued with such a Multitude of people, as well of those of the Guard neere hand, as of other people afar off, that were curious to see, that they were not to be numbred. By reason of the Sacrifices, *Ceremonies*, and stops which they made in the way, they were three daies ere they arrived at the Mountaine, where the Kings *Sepulchres* were.

As soon as they were come thither, the Hearse was removed with many *Ceremonies* from the Chariot, where it was, to another triumphant Chariot, which they had in readinesse for that purpose, of no lesse cost than the former. After that, they Sacrificed to the earth, a Bull, with Spiced wines, rich perfumes, and garments, Suplicating to the tutelary Spirit thereof, that he would receive that Body with pitie, keep, & defend it, &c.

At the same time, nine *Mandarines*, appointed by the King himself, performed the same *Ceremonies* and Sacrifices to all the Kings predecessours, which were buried there: when the day was come, on which the Body should be buried, which was the fifteenth of the sixt Moone, they made many Sacrifices, and so put an end to the *Funerall*: when presently the *Mandarines* posted away, to give the King account of all that had passed; which account was alwayes given him in part from time to time by the way. And he shewed his liberalitie to all those that had taken paines in that worke: and to shew his care and piety, in all that which he ought, to his Mothers memorie, presently after her death, he commanded that all prisoners should be released, that were not committed for any enormous crimes. He gave order also, that in the Provinces, where there was a Scarcitie of victualls, the ordinary Tribute should be taken off; and that alms should be given to those that were most necessitous among them.

He ordered also, that the *Rights* and *Gabels*, to be paid at the Gates and Custome-houses, which upon some occasions were lately imposed, should cease: and he himself, with his own hands, made many thousand small pieces of Silver which he lapped up in paper, according to the custome of *China*, to give them in Almes for the Soule of his dead Mother.

Truly there is nothing in *China*, so worthy to be imitated by Christians, as their piety towards their Parents, and God having given to this Nation such knowledge and inclination to vertue, it is great pittie, that they should only want the foundation of faith. Hence we may see, with how great fruit and profit the *Gospel* might be preached in this Kingdome, or rather by the goodnesse of the Lord, it is already preached, as we shall declare in its proper place.

It will not be besides the purpose of this discourse, to adde briefly something, concerning the death of King *Vanli*, Sonne to this Queen above said; the which fell out towards the end of *August* in the year 1620. in their seaventh moone; forbearing to mention the *Ceremonies*, which were like to those, we even now related.

He fell sick about the end of *June* (in the same year,) of a looseness and paine in his stomach, swelling of his feet, and other *Maladies*; This

infirmity lasted two months with many various changes & alterations: after which, finding himselfe come to the end of his life, he called his Sonne, the heire of the Kingdome, with his three other brothers; to whom he made a discourse full of good advise and wholesome precepts, accusing himselfe of too much negligence, and want of care, and then gave them the last salure.

Then he made his last Will and Testament, the manner whereof is this. When the Physitians do despaire of the Kings recovery, the *Colai*, if they be many, as they use to be, together with the chiefe of the Eunuchs, and the first President of the Palace, whom they call *Suli Kien*, go to the King, and endeavour to draw from his owne mouth, what his last Will is, and the summe of his Testament. After that; they go secretly to the Prince, the heire of the Kingdome, and give him an account of all, to the end nothing might be done contrary to the will of him, who is presently to take possession of the Kingdome.

When they have understood, what both their pleasures are, they put it into the form of a Will, and carry it to the King, to have his approbation of it. Then they present it to a Senatour of the royall Colledge, called *Hanli Yven*, to whom it belongeth to put such writings, as concerne the King, into good form and stile.

That done, it is closed up and sealed with the Kings seale, and is kept in the Archives of the royall Colledge, whilest the King is living. As soone as he is dead, it is carryed to the Tribunal of Rites and Ceremonies, to whom it belongeth to publish it through the whole Kingdome, and to put it punctually in execution.

The form of this Will is here faithfully copied and translated out of the *Chinesse* language into ours.

The last Will and Testament of our Emperour *Vanli*,
who in obedience to Heaven, hath resigned his
Empire into the hands of Posteritie.

I From a child received the government of this Monarchie from the hands of my Progenitours, and have held it forty eight years, a very long time: wherefore I have no reason to lament, that I am now to leave it. As soone as I was created Emperour, I had strong inclinations to governe well, and to imitate my Predecessours; as in truth I endeavoured to do, with all exactnesse. But afterward, being hindred by severall infirmities for many years, I left off the care of having the wonted sacrifices celebrated to Heaven and earth: neither did I cause the offices and ceremonies to be performed, which are due to the memory of my Ancestours. I seldome times sate upon the throne to consult of the affaires of the Kingdome; I detained the petitions which were presented me, without dispatching them. I tooke no care of nominating Magistrates, as the Kingdomes need required; and I know, that at this present there are some wanting. I have opened nine mines of gold, and silver: I have encreased and multiplied the Gabells and Excise: I have disturbed the publick peace with tumults of warre; whence hath followed discord with the neighbouring princes, and great oppression and injury to their people: wherefore thinking continually both night and day upon these things, I am hardly able to suffer the grief, which my soule endureth, and which
doth

doth now detest her former faults: finally, I began to take up better resolutions, but I am fallen into this infirmity, the which doth still so encrease, that it maketh me beleewe, I shall very shortly lose my life.

In the mean time I have this only hope left me, that my Sonnes and Nephews will amend my faults by leading a better life.

You therefore the Heire of my Kingdome, seeing that you neither want ingenuity, nor good disposition; and because you have hitherto never forborne the exercise of piety, obedience, and other vertues; be of good courage. The inheritance of the Empire of China is yours. Let your principall care be well to compose your life and manners. Apply your selfe with all study and industry to the well governing of the Kingdome. Love those that are good; refuse not counsell; take not advise in evill part: that you might be able to beare the great weight of this Empire: do your endeavour that your Sonne my Grand-child, follow his studies with all diligence. Be kind and loving to your three Brothers: assigne them convenient habitations; and provide for each of them a good revenue and honourable Titles. Use your utmost diligence, that all your subjects, as well noble as ignoble, may live in peace, and love concord. Take care speedily to make the Colai, and other the supreme Magistrates, for I do remember, to have left two places voyd: and above all, forget not to elect the Kings Administratours. These things I recommend to you that you should endeavour speedily to put them in execution.

By all means take off the new Gabells at Bridges, the Excise of silke, stuffs, eartherne ware, and other things, which I have lately introduced. Take care that all causes, which are depending in the Tribunals, be dispatched with diligence by some select Judges; and free the innocent. The souldiers on the confines of Tartary do want their pay and provisions: let them be speedily supplied out of the royall exchequer (this last clause is said to have been added by the Prince to his fathers Testament,) I do recommend to you the souldiers and Captaines, which were slaine in the last warre. Honour their Mortuaries, and their soules with new Titles, assist their families by paying their arreares.

All this I briefly ordaine, that you should put it in execution, as soone as possibly you may.

As for my Funerall, cause the ceremonies of the Kingdome to be observed. Though I had rather for my particular satisfaction, that instead of twenty seven months, as is the usuall custome, they should only last for so many dayes. All the Magistrates, Vice-roys, Visitours and Captaines of warre, have more need to assist at their governments and charges: Suffer not, that they be called hither, upon the occasion of my funerall. It will be sufficient, that when each hath newes of my death, he cause to be done, for three dayes in the place where he is, that which useth to be performed at the Funerall of the Kings body. The Pastilios, and other perfumes, wont to be presented on the like occasions, may be brought by the inferiour officers, in the name of the great ones. But for the Magistrates appointed for the government of the forts, and the Presidents of Cities and Townes, my Will is, that in no case they should be suffered to come, as also that the strangers, who are Tributary to this Kingdome, should be excused. I do ordaine that this my last Will should be published through the whole Kingdome, that it may come to the eares of every one of my subjects.

This was his will and Testament; which accordingly was every where published.

published. The other ceremonies I forbore to write, because they are the same with those, we have already related.

CHAP. 18.

Of the severall Sects of religion in China.

THe *Chineſſes* are generally little inclined to *Sects*; neither are there any thing neere ſo many among them, as among the people of *Giappon*. Nevertheleſſe they have three, which, although they be different, yet, that they might not erre in any, or to ſpeake more correctly, that they might erre the more, they joyne them altogether. Two of them are proper to *China*, and firſt ſprung up there: The third, which is of the Idols, is adventitious, and came from *India*.

The firſt is that of the *Litterati*; and is more ancient among them, than ſome do think, who make *Confuſio* to be the author of it. They worſhip no *Pagod*, or Idol, but acknowledge a *Superioritie*, or *Deitie*, who is able to chaſtiſe and to reward. Notwithſtanding they have no Churches, wherein they worſhip *him*; nor any divine Offices which they celebrate, nor any prayers that they rehearſe; nor any *Prieſts* or *Ministers*, which officiate at *his* ſervice. Yet they ſpeak and write in their books of this *Lord* very *Honourably*, as of a *divine perſon*; neither do they apply or attribute any undecent thing to *him*, as our Anceſtours did to their Gods. But as they did not perfectly and diſtinctly know the true God, they fell to worſhip three things, which are the moſt renowned, powerfull and profitable in the world, the which they call *San, Cai*, that is, heaven, earth, and man. There are, in the courts of *Nankin* and *Pekin* only, very ſumptuous Temples for heaven and earth; but which do properly belong to the King alone; wherein he only in his owne perſon doth ſacrifice; he being the Miniſter alſo of the ſacrifice, and in his abſence, or by his order, the chiefe Magiſtrate of the Tribunal of Rites.

In the Cities, there are Temples for the Tutelar ſpirits, to which the *Mandarines* do ſacrifice, as alſo to the ſpirits of the rivers, mountaines, and of the foure parts of the world, &c.

There are alſo Temples to the honour of ſome men, who have been famous Benefactours to the publick; and therein, are placed their Images. They do the ſame honour to their Anceſtours, untill the fourth degree upwards.

For their ſoule in the next life, they neither expect, nor pray for any thing: Nevertheleſſe, they aſk for temporall aſſiſtance in this life, good fortune, and to be able to imitate their good works and atchivements.

They pretend by this to ſtirre up devotion in the people, that they ſeeing how heaven and earth are honoured, as univerſall *Parents*, they might alſo honour their particular *Parents*: and ſeeing how famous men of former

former ages are honoured, they might thereby endeavour to imitate them; and seeing how their deceased *Progenitours* are served, they might learne how to serve them, while living. In a word, they order every thing, as it may conduce most to good government, to concord, peace, and quietnesse in Families, and to the exercise of vertue.

The *Second Sect* is that of the *Tausi*, proper also to *China*. The Authour thereof was a Philosopher named *Tausu*, of whom they feign, that he was eight years in his Mothers belly. He lived about the time of *Confusio*. He hath many followers to this day, who live together in communitie: they do not marry: they suffer the haire of their head and their beard to grow very long: in their habit they do not differ from others, except in some things at the time when they officiate. In stead of a Cap, they weare a little Crown, into which the knot only of their haire entreth. They place their ultimate Happinesse in the Body, in order to obtaine a quiet and easie life; without labour and trouble.

This *Sect* acknowledgeth one *Great God*, and other lesser one, all corporeall. They acknowledge *Glorie* and *Hell*: the *Glorie* to be conjoynd to the body, not only in the other life, but also in this; feighning, that by meanes of certaine exercises and meditations, one may come to make himselfe a child, and young, and others to become *Xin Sien*, that is, the fortunate ones of the earth; obtaining by this meanes whatsoever they desire, and to be able to transerre themselves from one place to another, although never so distant, speedily and easily; and other such like fooleries.

They are skilfull in Musick, and have good Instruments. They are alwaies called to the Sacrifices and Funeralls, and at those of the King and *Mandarines*, they are ever assistant. They Pretend to be *South-Sayers*, and promise to procure raine, and to drive away devils from places that are haunted: But are able to do nothing; and sometimes at such undertakings they are foully routed by the devils: in great droughts they promise raine, and often prolong so much time in praying for it, that at length the time of raine commeth.

In *Pekin*, in the yeare 1622, there fell out a pleasant Accident, although troublesome. There happened a great drought, prayers were made, pennances and fasts were kept: but all to no end. At length certaine *Tausi* offered themselves to procure raine without faile, and appointed a set day and houre, the offer was accepted with great applause, joy, and good hope of the event: then they in a great *Piazza*, or market-place made a theater composed of little Tables, which, as they have many there of an equall height and breadth, they did set one upon another, beginning at bottom with a great many, and raising it up by degrees higher, still with fewer Tables, till at length, the Machine came to end in one only, observing an handsome proportion and reasonable height. On this last and highest stood the chiefe of them, praying and supplicating; and the rest went round about him, doing the same, like *Baals Priests*, (although they did not wound themselves; for in that they had great regard, as those who fought not bloud, but water.)

The people stood all round about, expecting the event: and the Ministers

sters observing so great an Auditory, which was almost infinite, redoubled their prayers, their whistlings, and ceremonies. When the day and hour appointed was come, presently the Sky began to be overcast with very dark cloudes, to the great joy of all, and credit of their Ministers, who did already promise themselves the happy accomplishment of their undertaking; expecting every moment, when the raine should fall. When behold, of a sudden there fel a furious storm of Haile, the Stones whereof were as big as Eggs, and some bigger, which did ruine, not only their fields, but their Gardens, and killed diverse Persons, that could not in time recover some Shelter.

The Fathers have writ me from thence, that they thought the end of the world was come, so great was the confusion and noise of the Haile that fell. The Prophets, for having procured stones in stead of water, were all rewarded with store of Bastinadoes.

The third *Sect* is of the *Pagods*, from *India*, from the parts of *Indostan*, which *Sect* they call *Xaca*, from the Authour of it: concerning whom, they fable, that he was conceived by his Mother *Maia*, only upon the sight of a white Elephant, which she saw in her sleep; and for the more puritie she brought him forth at one of her flanks, and then presently died, being but nineteen yeares of age. And that, considering the death of his Mother, the cause whereof he was by his Birth, he resolved to leave the world, and to do pennance; the which he did in a Mountain called the Snowy Mountaine, where he had fower Masters, with whom he studied twelve yeares; so that by that time he was thirty yeares of age, he was accomplished in the Science of the first principle. He took the name of *Xekia*, or *Xaca*: he taught his doctrine for the space of 49 yeares; he had many Scholars, who, after his death collected his papers, and spread his doctrine through the greater part of Asia.

This *Sect* entred into *China* in the year of our Redemption 63. The Emperour *Hanmin* being commanded in a dreame, (as their books report) to send for it in. The *Bonzi*, who were the preachers of that *Sect*, were well received of him, and at the beginning, were very powerfull, much esteemed, and in so great number, that they say, they were three millions. But at this day they are very few in respect of that number: whether it were that they trusting in their multitude, or in the Kings favour, committed some notable disorder; or (what is more likely) by reason of the misfortune that befell many Kings, since their coming in: and by this meanes they are so declined, that unlesse it be in the offices and Acts of their divine worship, there is but little account made of them among the *Chineses*.

Their *Priests* weare their head and beards shaved: their Cap is different, but the rest of their Habit is the same with that of others. They worship idols: They hold a Reward and Punishment in the next Life: They marry not: They live in Convents, foure or five hundred together, or more: They have a moderate Maintenance allowed them by the King, notwithstanding, every one is allowed to get what he can: They begge, mutter Prayers: They sing: They have severall offices, and prayers against fire, tempests, misfortunes, and especially for the dead: in which

Functions

Functions they use sacerdotall, or priestly garments: Their Caps are like ours, and their sprinkling brushes without any difference at all: They eat neyther flesh, fish, nor egges, neyther doe they drink wine.

They live inclosed; but within a very great circuite of wall, with long streets in it in manner of a Towne; where, in every house there dwelleth three or foure, that is, one Master and the rest Scholars: In it they have all manner of convenience. That which the King giveth them, is divided equally to every house. They have also a *superiour*, who is over them all, and governeth them, but at large, for he only taketh notice of such cases, as are proposed to him for the rest, every one governeth his owne house. He distributeth the offices among them, and appointeth such as are to receive strangers. When any officer arriveth at their Convent, or Temple, presently a drumme is beaten, which they keep at the gate; and then there are about thirty obliged to come and meet him, when they have put on their garment of *Courtesie*. When the *Magistrate* is come to the gate, they make him a low reverence, and presently turning about they go before him, waiting on him to the place, whether he goeth; and there they attend him, standing on their feet in the same manner, till he go away. They are properly subject to the councill of rites, who governeth them; but in chastising of them, when there is occasion, they are more favourable to them, than to secular persons.

There are others of them, that live in caves, rocks, and grotts, and some that make their particular penances in private; others that make little narrow lodges, knocked full of nailes with their points turned inwards, where they stand in sight of all the world, for the space of a month without leaning: Some of them professe to eat nothing, whilest they are there, but only to drink *Cha*. But those that are expert, say, that they make up great balls of beefe, which hath been first well boyled, dried in the sunne, and then ground to powder; and that when they give them their *Cha* to drink very hot, they cast one of their balls into it, which presently dissolveth: which although it be no very nourishing diet, yet it is sufficient to sustaine them, and to colour their deceit of living without eating.

There be some who belong to no Convent, or Temple, neither are they Sonnes of any Monastrie; neither are they admitted into them, as Guests, but for one day only: They call them vagabonds; and among these, there are many times found some, who are very wicked men, and do much mischief, especially by robberies.

Notwithstanding the greater part of these abovenamed *Sectaries*, is not scandalous; but very patient, meek and humble; whether it be from the habit, which humbleth them, or from the little esteeme that is made of them, which keepeth them under.

There go abroad no ill reports of them, although they be frequently spoken off: And to mention those which appeare in publick, in two and twenty years, that I was there, I heard only two stories of them; and of one of them, the cause was not certainly known. In the City of *Hanchen*, there was found one morning one of them bound to a Tree, and stabbed to death with daggers: concerning which there was an ill judgment raised. In the village of *Xhanhay* in the Province of *Nankim*, during the

N

time

time that I lived there, a *Bonzo* was desired by a widow woman, to come to her house and to recite some prayers for the soule of her deceased husband: But it seemeth he chose rather to make a commeration of the living, than the dead: The fact was known; and for a month together he was exposed to publick shame (for they do chastise them very well) with a great square board about his neck, whereon was written in great letters the occasion of his penance: It is very much in 22 years to have heard no more against them. Not but that I could say something upon this occasion: but it is better to be silent, than to speak of it.

There are also Nunnes in *China*, who live after the same manner: They shave their heads; but they are not many; neither do they observe *Clau-
sure*.

The end of all these *Seets* of the *Bonzi* is to do penance in this life, to be better provided in the next. They believe the Transmigration of *Pythagoras*, and that the soules departed go to hell; which, they hold, doth containe nine severall places; and after they have passed through them all, those of the best sort, are borne men againe, others of a middle sort, are turned into living creatures, like unto men. But they are in the worst condition, that go into birds, who may not so much as hope in the next Transmigration to become men; but at soonest in another after, having first gone into some other living creature. This is the generall believe, not only of the common people (in whom, these errors are radicated beyond imagination) but also in people of better account.

But their wisest men, or to speak more truly, they that are most given to *Atheisme*, forsaking this way, which they call the *Exteriour*, do follow another, more *interiour* or secret; the knowledge whereof they preserve, with great care among themselves; placing their whole intent on the understanding of the *first principle*, (which is properly the doctrine of *Xaca*) whom they believe to be the same, in all things; and all things to be the same with him; without any essentiall difference; operating according to the *extrinsick Qualities* of the subject; as wax is formed into severall figures, the which being dissolved by liquefaction, remaine in substance the selfe same waxe.

After this their way; they divide mankind into ten *Classes*. The foure first whereof are good; that is, *Principiantes*, or *Beginners*; *Proficientes*, or *Proficients*; *Provecti*, or those that have *Advanced*; *Consummati*, or they that are *accomplisht*. The three first do walke well, although they are but yet in the way; but the fourth is arrived at perfection, by means of contemplating the *first principle*; and by mortification of their passions, which did disquiet them with perturbations and scruples; and do already enjoy such an internall quiet and Peace of minde, that nothing doth give them any remorse or trouble, for what-ever they thinke, say, or do; assuring their consciences, that after death they are to expect neither reward nor punishment; but that every thing shall returne to its *principle*, as it was at first.

For the other six *Classes* of men, they make six *Hels*. The first and gentlest is of Infants, who have not yet had any experience of their passions, nor been troubled by them; especially by covetousnesse, anger, &c. The second

second is of them, who being placed in the government of the world, give themselves wholly to the vanity thereof : The third is of them, who like brute beasts, follow their passions and disordinate appetites. The fourth is of them, that rob, wound, assault, and slay. The fifth of them, who suffer hunger, thirst, miserie, labours, troubles externally in the body, and internally in the soule. The sixth is of them, that take upon them voluntary labours and sufferings, as the *Bonzi*, who do penance, fast, &c. This externall life serving them only as a disposition to the internall, the which being obtained, the other serveth them for nought, no more than the wooden engine, (which workmen use to shape a vault withall) after the vault is finished.

Now these men do esteeme Hell to be no more than thus : And when they speak of *Transmigration* into beasts, they say, It is to be understood of this life : As if a man be civill, courteous, and well bred ; they say he is turned into a man ; if cholerick and furious, into a Lyon : If cruell, into a Tyger ; if gluttonous, into a swine : If a thiefe, into a Bird of prey. Hence was the originall of that handsome saying among them, *Ti To Thien Than Ti Yen Sin Vai*. (That is,) Heaven and Hell are seated in the heart.

These are the Three principall *Seets* of *China*, from whence have sprung many others that are there to be found.

They hold, that they may be made all to agree without any prejudice to their observance. They have a text, which saith, *San Chiao Te Tao*; that is, The doctrines are three, but the reason of them is but one. For although the worship, adoration, and exercise be different, notwithstanding the end at which they all arrive, is the same, *Cum Hiu*, (that is) nothing.

The *Litterati* of the first *Seet*, imitating Heaven and Earth, apply all to the government of the Kingdome ; of their families ; and of their persons, only in this life ; and after that pretend to nothing. The *Tausi* of the second *Seet*, without any regard to their families or the government, treat only of the body. The disciples of *Xaca* of the third *Seet*, without any regard to the body, treat only of the spirit, internall peace, and quiet of conscience : Hence arose that sentence which they use, *Fu Chi Que, Tan Chi Xin, Xe Chi Sin*, that is, the *Litterati* govern the Kingdom, the *Tausi* the body, and the *Bonzi* the heart.

Besides these three which are all admitted, and publicly professed in the Kingdom ; there is another which is not publike, nor permitted ; but is under a prohibition, notwithstanding it hath many followers : it is called *Pe Lien Kieo*, and is exceedingly hated of the *Chineffes*, especially of the governours ; because the disciples thereof do conceale themselves, doing every thing by night with much secrecy. It is commonly beleaved, that their intent is, to exalt some of themselves to the Crowne ; and it is verily thought, that some perverse men of this profession, have already designed it.

A *Chineffe* of good credit did affirme to me, that there were throughout *China* many thousands of them ; and that they had a Captaine or King, with all his officers belonging to him : whom, such of their *Seet*, as live far off, do reverence in their letters, with all respect due to such a Person ;

and those that are at hand, when they have a convenience to assemble themselves, do honour him with services, courtesies and splendour, suitable to that of royall Majestie: and that all of them knew one another.

In the yeare 1622. in the Province of *Xantum*, which lieth between that of *Nankim* and *Pekim*, there was discovered and taken one of these that was their Captaines. And because the *Mandarines* were resolved, not only to punish him, but all those that followed his *Seſt* likewise; they questioned him concerning his companions; and not being able to draw a confession from him, they gave him severall times the rack. Which being understood by those, of the same *Seſt*, whether it were for love they bare him, or for fear, that he might be constrained to confesse and discover them, they all resolved to arme themselves, and fall upon the *Mandarines*, and by force of armes to deliver their companion: which accordingly they put in execution, with so much suddenesse, that it was impossible for the others to resist or escape them. They slew many of the *Mandarines*, and the rest were so affrighted, that they delivered their companion,

Then having formed themselves into a Body, they began to conquer the *Province*. At the beginning their number was not considerable, but in a short time there were so many, who joyned themselves to them, part of their own faction, and part of other vagabonds, that already they came to be many thousands; and so going on, without finding any resistance, they made themselves Masters of the small villages, and at length tooke two walled Towns, where they fortified themselves, issuing out from thence, to assault their enemies.

This newes gave no little trouble to the Court, the rebels being very neer them. But at length by the diligence they used, all was remedied; by reason, that numerous forces were sent out against them from *Pekim*: and although at the beginning, there fell out many battailes with various successe, both on the one and other side, yet at the length they of *Pekim* were Conquerours, and the rebels army defeated, and their Captaine taken, who called himselfe King; and kept this Title with so much obstinacie, that being lodged at the house of a Person of quality, before he came to the Court, he did him no Reverence at all; and being bid to bow and do him Reverence, he answered with much disdain, the King doth Reverence to no man. Being come to Court, he was condemned to die, and was accordingly beheaded; and this was the Crown which he deserved. After that, the King quieted the rest by pardoning the greatest part of the rebels.

CHAP. 19.

Of their Superstitions and Sacrifices
in China.

Superstition is an Individuall companion of *Paganisme*; but in *China*, *Giappon*, and *Corea*, and the neighbouring Kingdomes, it is in great ex-
 cesse. The Kings *Mathematician* giveth no small occasion to these super-
 stitions; for from the impressions of the aire, the colours of the Skie, tem-
 pests, unseasonable thunders, aspects of the Sunne, whereof they have
 two and twenty differences, and severall appearances of the Moon,
 whereof they have sixteen, he alwayes maketh his *Prognostications*, espe-
 cially whether there will be peace in the Kingdome, or death, mortalitie,
 mutations, perturbations, and the like.

To this end he maketh an *Almanack* for the whole yeare, which he
 divideth into its Moones; and the Moones into daies, which according to
 his calculation, he declareth fortunate or unfortunate, to do or leave un-
 done any thing; as to take a voyage, to go out of doores, to make marri-
 age, to bury the dead, to build, and other such like affaires: whence the
Chineses in all their businesse, do so observe these *Rubriques*, that meerly,
 not to go against these rules, they hasten, defer, or let alone whatsoever
 they have to do. So that if the *Almanack* say, on such a day, such a bu-
 sinesse is to be done, although all the Elements conspire against them, they
 will by no meanes deferre it.

Besides this *Almanack*, whereof there are so many copies given out,
 that there is not an house, which hath not one of them, the market-places
 and streets are full of *Astrologers* and *Sooth-sayers*, who keep open Shop
 with their Tables for *Calculation*, in order only to tell such their fortunes,
 as come to them to require it: and although for the most part, they that
 come to them, are deceived and cozened, yet there are so many that
 flock to them, that although the number of these *Diviners*, is almost infi-
 nite, they live and sustaine their Families by this *Art*.

Some professe to *Divine* by way of numbers, even or odde, and with
 black and white figures; making 64 mutations, or changes of them; which
 they explaine and interpret as they please.

Others consider the time of the *Nativitie*, which the *Chineses* are ve-
 ry diligent in keeping account of, that they may know the houre, the mi-
 nute, and conjunction in which their children were born.

Others, whom they call *Tili*, pretend to *Divine* by meanes of the Sci-
 tuation of the earth, and from the correspondance it hath with heaven,
 and with the parts thereof, pronouncing what places are *prosperous*, and
 what *unfortunate*; and where, if they build their houses, all will succeed
 prosperously, and with good fortune to the Family; or contrariwise, with
 sickness, misfortunes, disgraces and other evils: and in this facultie
 they have many skilfull professors, on whom they spend a great deale
 of

of money without any profit at all.

Others *Divine* by the *Physiognomie* of the face ; others by considering the lines and strokes of the hand ; others interpret dreames.

Whilest I dwelt in *Nankim*, there was a man, who went to consult one of these about a dreame he had, which was concerning an *Umbrella*, or skreen to keep off the Sunne : the professour asked him, if there were any plea or enditement against him, in any Court of Justice : he answered, There was: Well said the professour, then *San* signifieth an *Umbrella*, and *San* also signifieth to vanish ; and the interpretation of your dreame is, that all that is against you will vanish and come to nothing. The poore man was very well pleased, but being afterwards arraigned, he received *thirty Bastinados* well set on. The wretch being angrie at his punishment, whereof he thought himselfe secure, went to quarrel with the professour, who answered him, Alas, I had forgot to aske thee, Whether the *Umbrella*, which thou sawest, were a new one ; or an old one : it was a new one, answered the foole. Then said the professour, Make account, that thy sorrowes do but now begin.

Others *divine* only by the Touch, and these are blind men. In the yeare 1630. there came to the *Metropolis* of *Kiamsi*, a blind man, well in years : he opened shop, and was frequented by many of the *Nobility* : he foretold many things, with much confidence, and a certain Gentleman of the same City, that was of one of the foure principall families of that place, came to me to tell me what had passed ; he knew me, and understood well enough, what my opinion was in that matter. He told me many particular cases of things already happened ; by which he was confirmed of the event, of what the other said, should yet come to passe ; and prayed me, that I would go in person, and make triall of him. I went only to undeceive him : and coming to him, he touched my hand, and bid me speak : when I had spoke, he began to tell, that I was married, and that I had two sonnes, that one of them was towardly, the other wilde and disobedient ; that my wife was froward and discontented ; in fine, that my whole family was in disorder : but that when I had taken my degree, all would be well. He is already a *Graduate*, answered my friend. Where, replied the blind man ? In another Province, answered the other. At which the blind man withdrew, seeing, although without eyes, that he had erred in that particular of my degree.

Besides these, whom they consult, they have in their Temples, severall kindes of lots ; and a booke that explaineth them : They do very frequently draw these lots, and they as frequently deceive them.

They observe likewise, and make *Auguries* from the *singing* of *Birds*, & from the *Howling* of *Beasts* : & if at their going out in the morning, they presently meet with a man cloathed in *Mourning*, a *Bonzi*, or such like thing, they take it for an ill *Augurie* : They say also, that they have familiar spirits, which they frequently consult : But of this I have not had any knowledge.

Anciently, in time of the *Tartars*, there were many very skilfull in this Art ; and if we may beleieve, what *Marcus Venetus* relateth, they did many wonders : But at this day there is nothing certainly known of this matter. Yet there is still a family, that have a particular pension from the King,

King, which is continued, by succession to their posteritie; and the name of, *Magitian* or *Wizard Major*, and is the chiefe of that Sect, and is sometimes sent for to the King. I for my part believe, the devill hath more power over them, than they have over the devill.

As for sacrifices they are very frequent in *China*, as well great as small ones: and every one provideth for them what he will, or rather what he can, according to his estate and abilitie. They sacrifice foure times a year, to *Heaven*, the *Sunne*, *Moone*, and greater part of the *Planets* and *Starres*; to the *Earth*, *Mountaines*, and the *foure parts* of the *World*; to the *Sea*, *Rivers*, *Lakes*, and other things. But it seemeth that in realitie they sacrifice to the *Spirits* of those things, when in common speech, they say they sacrifice to the *Earth*, *Mountaines*, &c. Which may be seen in many sacrifices they make; as in the sacrifice of the house, kitchen, ships, standards and ensignes, when they go to war, and such like things; in which sacrifices they speak only to the *Tutelar Spirits* of those things.

They sacrifice much more to the Idols, and to famous men deceased; to whom, when they know them to be such, they cause Temples to be built, and place in them their Images, for services they have done, or other benefits the Kingdome hath received by them.

It seemeth, that at the beginning it was, and still is meant, only for a kinde of gratefull commemoration of them; and that properly they do not sacrifice to them, but only bring offerings to them, and perform other *Ceremonies*. But the ignorant people in time, are come to worship them as Saints, and make praiers to them, and other such like honours.

They make likewise these kinde of offerings to their *Ancestours*; whose pictures and Images, (or at least their names written) they have alwaies present at these offerings and *Ceremonies*. They only make mention of *six*, that is, the *first founder* of their familie; *their third* and *fourth Grand-father*, *their great Grand-father*, *Grand-father* and *Father*: And when he that is the chiefe of the familie dyeth, they take him in, and leave out the fourth *Grand-father*: So that there alwaies remaine *six* and no more. These offerings and *ceremonies* are not properly sacrifices made to their *Fathers*, for they do not believe that their *Fathers* and *Ancestours* are all, either Gods or Saints; but only it is a demonstration of *Gratitude* and *Reverence* which they thinke is due to them, from whom they have received their being.

That which they sacrifice is, some kindes of *Beasts*, as *Goats*, *Hogges*, and *Oxen*: These are the most usuall. Of *Fowles* the most ordinary are *Cocks* and *Hens*. Of *Fishes* what they please. They also sacrifice pieces of flesh, and most commonly the *Head*: They sacrifice also *Rice*, *Pulse*, and *Wine*. And if the King sacrifice any of these things, the *Mandarines* take themselves large shares of them; and if the better sort of people sacrifice, such as are the heads of families, it is divided among the kindred. The ordinary sort of people, after they have made their offering, which is comonly boyled before hand, take up every thing againe, then having dressed it anew according to their *fancy*, they make a feast with it, where it is all eaten.

They sacrifice many other things; as *Banners* and *Umbrellas*, all of silk;
severall

severall *figures* moulded in gold or silver, or else made of *Orpine*, or base gold; great summes of money made of cut paper. All these things are to be sold, ready made, in the market-places, at the shops of severall Artificers; and after they are sacrificed, they burn them all.

Every man offereth sacrifice without any difference, they having no determinate ministers appointed for this act: neither indeed have they for other things; as for offices (or Divine service) Burials, to sing and officiate at them with any exactnesse.

It belongeth only to the king to sacrifice to *Heaven*, the *Earth*, *Sunne*, *Moone*, *Planets* and *Starres*, and if any others should do it in publick, he were guilty of a great crime. For this end they have two most famous *Temples* at the *two Courts*: where the King sacrificeth at the *four seasons* of the year, *Spring*, *Summer*, *Autumne* and *Winter*, going thither himselfe in person; and if he cannot go, he sendeth some other to officiate in his stead.

The great *Lords* and those who are *Titelados*, sacrifice to the *Mountaines*, *Lakes*, &c. The Gentlemen and Officers to the four seasons of the year, and particular parts of the earth, *Hills*, and the like.

For the rest, as to their Idols, their household-gods, *Genij*, or *Tutelar Angells*, any one sacrificeth that will, there being set times and places appointed for it: except at sometimes they do accomodate themselves, both to the occasions and places; as when any one is to take a voyage by water, he offereth sacrifice on the day, whereon he departeth; and that either in the *Barke*, or on the *next shore*.

CHAP. 20.

Of the Militia and Armes of the Chineses.

THE knowledge and skill of *Warre* and *Military* affairs is very ancient among the *Chineses*, as appeareth by their bookes and Histories; and it is very certaine, that they have conquered many famous Kingdomes: it is also commonly beleev'd, that they did formerly conquer *Ceilan*; and neere to that place, in the City of *Nagapatam* there is to be seen, at this day, an edifice, or building, which they call *The Pagod of the Chineses*: and it is a Tradition among the people of that Countrie, that it was built by them. Neither truly is it a worke unfit to be compared to any of that Kingdom. Neverthelesse their bookes make no mention at all of it; but that is not a sufficient reason altogether to refute this Tradition; for no more have they any memory left in their bookes of the ancient Christianitie, which notwithstanding it is most certaine, was there; and was also very much dilated and spread abroad. However it is manifest, that they had 114. Kingdomes Tributary to them; but at this day they have only the neighbouring Countries, which are nothing neere so many; and even of these, some of them do deny them their tribute; and others have

have been abandoned by the *Chineſſes* themſelves, holding it better to retire themſelves to their own, in peace and quietneſſe, than to go on ſtill with warre and troubles, to conquer or maintaine other Kingdomes.

Befide the *Conqueſts* and *warres* made with ſtranger Kingdomes, they have had warre alſo for many yeares in their own Countie, ſo that beſide many particular books that treateth thereof, they have one body of hiftorie conſiſting of ten Tomes, which only treateth of the *warrs* of thoſe times, of their *Captaines*, their manner of *warfare*, *battailes*, *victories*, and other things: wherein are many notable things to be read, which do clearly demonſtrate, that they have formerly been a *valiant* and *warlike* nation; although there are but few ſuch at this time. The occaſions how they came thus to grow leſſe, were very great, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

At this day, that which they have of *warlike* in the Kingdom, is only the *multitude*, which is very great; for beſides the *Souldiery*, which they have in the frontiers of *Tartarie*, and in the *Armados* and fleets, which are at the mouths of the great rivers, which runne into the Sea, every Province, and in that every City and Village of the Kingdom, hath a proper *militia* of their own, which is paid by them, and commanded by their own *Captaines*: and in caſe that any Province hath need of men, they make uſe of the *Souldierie* of their own Cities and Townes; which by order of the *vice-roy* is eaſily brought to one *Rendevous*. And if there be occaſion for them on the frontiers, or any other place of the Kingdom, preſently by order from the King, or his counsell of *warre*, they raiſe the *Souldiers* of one or more Provinces, according to the Preſent neceſſitie, and the poſſibilitie of the Province; all of them not being able to maintaine the ſame number of *Souldiers*.

Theſe *Souldiers* are alwayes in readineſſe; and if one of them be wanting or die, there are preſently enow in the ſame Town, though it be never ſo little, who make ſuite for the employment; and ſo the place is preſently ſupplied.

In the City of *Nankim* they ſay, there are 40000 *Souldiers*, and in that of *Pekim* 80000. and throughout the whole Kingdom (as Father *Matthæus Riccius* affirmeth, who lived in *China* many yeares, and had very good Knowledge thereof) above a million: and Father *John Rodriguez*, who went very much up and down *China*, and had opportunitie to ſee the principall places thereof, and was very curious, ſaith; that he found by diligent ſearch in their books, that in the body of the Kingdom, with all the Cities and Villages thereof, there are 594000 *Souldiers*; and on the great wals, which confine on *Tartarie* 682888. and yet he did not put in- to this number the *Souldiers* of the *Armado* that guardeth the coaſt. Nor wil this number ſeem ſo exceſſive, if we conſider, that *China* alone, beſide that it is much more populous, is as big as *Spain*, *France*, *Italie*, *Germanie*, the *Low-Countries*, *great Brittain*, and all the *Iſlands* belonging to it.

In all this multitude; if we ſpeak of them, who guard the *Frontiers*, there is no doubt but there is found ſome valour and courage; and they have ſometimes gallantly repulſed the *Tartars*, and in the yeare 1596, when the *Giapponeffes*, after they had paſſed through all the Kingdom of *Corea*, without finding any reſiſtance, would have entred *China*, which they

came on purpose to conquer, the *Chineſſes* repulſed them in ſuch manner, that after the loſſe of many men, they were faine to put up their pipes, and returne home without doing any thing: ſo likewiſe the *Souldiers* of the *Armado* have made ſome aſſaults, wherein they have been *viſtorious*. But if we ſpeake of them, who live in the Cities and Villages throughout the Kingdome, they are but of ſmall courage and valour: but you muſt not conceive, that they are only *Souldiers*, and have no other profeſſion, for they are Inhabitants and natives of the ſame places, and are *Taylors*, *Shoemakers* &c. They are alwaies ready to march at the Kings command, and leaving their houſes, go to the warre, whenſoever there is occaſion, They are moreover obliged, to appear at the muſters and traynings for three months in the *Spring*, and three in the *Autumne*, the which are held in the great Cities every day infallibly, where only a *Tertia* or third part of them do muſter, but in Villages they do all make their appearance every day.

The manner which they hold in this *Militia*, is thus: All the *Souldiery*, whether of Foot or Horſe, are drawn up into a Body, and if any be found miſſing, there is an other put in his place, and in that place and degree, into which they are once admitted, they *almost ever* remaine, or are but little advanced, I ſaid, *almost alwayes*, becauſe on the Frontiers, if any *Souldier* perform any notable exploit, they ſometimes make him a *Captain*, and he is advanced to his degrees without being examined: but this is a thing which falleth out very rarely.

For to make *Captaines*, *Lieutenants*, and *Corporals*, &c, there are examinations, and in them two degrees are conferred, which (to make them be the better underſtood) we will call *Licentiats in arms*, and *Doctours in arms*. The firſt examination is held in the chief Cities of the Provinces, whither all pretenders do reſort, (and in the ſame vniverſity or generall Palace, where the ſtudents are examined;) and there they are to be examined, giving them for a point, or *Theme*, certaine doubts in matters of war, to which they anſwer with their pen, making thereon diſcourſes and compositions. The ſpeculative triall being ended, they come to the practick.

They muſt ſhoote nine arrowes, ſtanding ſtill upon their feet, and other nine on horſe-back, againſt a great Target, whileſt the horſe is in his ſpeed; and of thoſe who behave themſelves beſt, both in the triall of ſhooting, and in that of composing, ſome are choſen, on whom the firſt degree is conferred; which hath alſo its enſignes and ornaments. The ſecond degree is conferred at Court in the ſame year, where all thoſe who have obtained the firſt degree, do aſſemble themſelves, and the examination is held in the ſame manner as before, only there are more doubts concerning matters of warre propoſed, than before. Their enſignes are the ſame with thoſe of the *Doctours in learning*, which is to be underſtood in the Cities, while the Kingdom is in peace, for in warre, or publique actions, where they aſſiſt as *Souldiers*, they have their particular enſignes and ornaments of *Captaines*. The graduates are employed the ſame yeare, in the office of *Captaines*; and ſo are advanced by degrees, til they come, it may be, to be *Captaines General*, although there be no war. They who remaine only with the firſt degree, are employed in the leſſer, and more ordinary charges

charges of the warr; but they are alwayes to be in something of command.

As for their *Armes*, I say first; that the use of *Powder* is very ancient in *China*: and in fire-works, wherein they are excellently skilfull, they spend more powder in a year, than in their *Armies*, at this time, in five. Anciently it seemeth, they used it more in the warr. For even to this day, there are to be seen on the gates of the City of *Nankim*, on both sides of the town, great Brasse *Bombards*, or *Cannon*, which though they be but short yet are very well made; from whence it may be concluded, that they have formerly been in use. But now they know not how to make use of them, and keep them only for ostentation. Neverthelesse they make some use of *Morter pieces*, or *Spingards*; but they have but few, and those ill-made. They have also *Dagges* two palms long, of *Musket-bore*; they do stock three, and sometimes fower of these together; and shoot them off all at once. In their ships of warr, they carry *Guns*, but they are very small ones, neither do they know, how to levell them at a mark. But now, since the *Officers* of *China* have made many fire-arms in *Machao*, by meanes of the *Portugheses*, *Muskets* began to come into *China*: but the *Armes* which they commonly serve with, are, *Bowes* and *Arrowes*, *Lauces*, *Scimitars*.

In the year 1621 the City of *Macao* sent, for a present, to the King three great pieces of *Cannon*, with their *Cannoniers* belonging to them, to acquaint him with the use of them; which accordingly they did in *Pekin*, to the great affrightment of many *Mandarines*: who would needs be present to see them discharged. At which time, there fell out an unhappie accident; which was, that one of the *Guns* violently recoyling killed one *Portuguese*, and three or fower *Chineses*, besides many more that were Scared. These *Guns* were highlie esteemed, and carried to the *Frontiers* against the *Tartars*; who not knowing of this new invention, and coming on, many together in a close Body, received such a slaughter from an Iron piece, that they were not only put to flight at that time, but went on ever after with more caution.

For defensive *Armes*, they use round *Bucklers*, *Caskes* or *Head-pieces*, and certaine plates of Iron three fingers broad, laid one upon another, of which they make Back and Brest-pieces; they are but of little proof, and are made only against arrowes.

In a word both their *Armes* and *Souldiers* are but little worth at this time. The occasions thereof are many; the *First* is the great ease and idleness, in which they have lived these many yeares, since the Kingdome hath been free from warr. The *Second* is, the great account they make of learning, and the little esteem they have of *Armes*, so that the least magistrate will dare to baffle a *Captaine* of *Armes*, let him be never so great. The *Third* is their manner of electing *Captaines* by way of examination, as we have said, being all raw *Souldiers*, that understand nothing in matters of warr. The *Fourth* is, because all *Souldiers*, are either couragious by nature, or Spurred on to *Gallantrie* by the example of those *Noble Persons*, who lead them; or else they are animated by the discipline, their *Captaines* do bring them up in. But the *Souldiers* of *China* want all these occasions. For commonly their courage is but little; their *Nobilitie* lesse; their *Education* least of all; for they will *bastinado* a *Souldier* for any fault, as if he were a

child that went to schoole. The *fifth*, because in their *Armies*, over all the *Captaines*, and also the *Generall* himfelfe, there goeth a *Generalissimo*, who is alwaies a man of the long robe: This man marcheth alwaies in the middle of the maine *Battalia*, and from the place of *Battaille* is many times a daies journey off; so that he is too remote to give orders, and to runne away, in any case of danger, he is most ready. The *sixth* is, that in their *Councells of warre* (of which they have two; one in the Court of *Nankim*; and the other in that of *Pekim*; and each hath a *President*, two *Collateralls*, and eight or nine *Colleagues*) there is not one *Souldier*, or *Captaine* among them, or any that hath ever seen the *warres*; and yet for all that, the whole *Militia* of the Kingdome is ordered by them, especially by the Councell of *Pekim*.

Only there might be answered to what hath been said, that the *Chineffes* do use training, and exercises of *warre*, for three months in the *Spring*, and three in the *Autumne* every year: which cannot be done without some profit, exercising themselves in shooting arrowes at a marke, and shooting also very well. But in truth this exercise of theirs is the most rediculous thing in the world: For dividing their men into squadrons, part feign themselves to be enemies, and part *Chineffes*, (as among us in *Portugall*, the boyes divide themselves into *Moore*s and *Christians*) one part cometh, as it were, a farre off to warre with the other; then they send out spies, and send away messengers to the *Mandarines* (who are sitting not farre of under a *Canopie*, or *Pavilion* of silke) giving them notice, that they are in such a place, and the enemy in such a place; then the *Chineffes* send out a partie against them, who encountring knock their *Swords* and *Lances* one against the others, just as plaiers do upon a stage; and this, or very little more is all they do.

CHAP, 21,

Of the warre which the Tartars made upon China.

WHen *Humun* the first founder of the royall family that governeth at present, drove the *Tartar* out of the Kingdome, who had kept all *China* under his subjection ninetic years, he not only re-gained his own Kingdome, but entred likewise into those of the others and conquered those Kingdomes, that lay neereft him towards the *North*, obliging them to pay him tribute: neither did he let them remaine in the manner of Kingdomes, but the same *Humun* divided them into 160. families or States; giving them diverse dignities and offices. These States grew so great, that they divided themselves into three Kingdomes; one towards the *West*; another toward the *North*, and the third toward the *East*. The two first presently with-drew themselves from their obedience to the *Chineffes*; only he of the *East* remaining their friend, treating with them, and performing his obligations.

This continued for many years; till the *Chineffes* seeing that *Easterne* Kingdome

Kingdome to encrease much, whether it were for reason of state, or for some other particular respect, they resolved to fall upon it, and to bring them under, so that the *Tartars* forced by desperation, resolved at once to invade upon them; this is the usuall effect of *Extortion* and *Tyranny*, and where the Prince would have more from the people, than they are able to give. Whence *Theopompus* King of the *Lacedemonians*, when his wife told him, that because he had eased his people of many taxes, he would leave his soone a poorer Kingdome, than he had received from his Father, answered, *Relinquo, sed diuturnius*. That is, I shall, leave him a more lasting Kingdome. The *Tartars* therefore secretly levied Souldiers, and on a sudden fell upon a fort in the Province of *Leaotum*, and tooke it; making afterwards many in-roads to their profit, and to the great damage of the *Chineffes*.

The *Tartars* of the *West* and of the *North*, whether it were out of love to their Country, or out of intrest, which is more probable, raised also an Army, and came in to the Succour of their *Easterne* Countrimen, and by little and little grew so numerous, that in the year 1618 two very great Armies, one *Chineffe*, and the other *Tartar*, came to a field-battaile; in which the *Chineffes* were vanished and put to flight, with a very great loss of men. And that it might the better be understood, how the state of things were then, I will set down here a memorial or petition, which the President of the Councell of warre gave the King concerning this businesse; which I translated at that time, and sent it into *Europe* for news, and now I have found it here printed, and it saith thus.

A memoriall, or petition, presented by the president
of the Councell of Warre to the King.

IN this six and fourtieth year of your Reign, in the sixth Moone, (which was the yeare 1618 in the month of August) the President of the Councell of Warre presenteth you with this Memoriall, as to our Lord and King, upon occasion that the *Tartars* are entred within the walls toward the North, in which he humbly petitioneth you, that you would attend this businesse, and presently open your Treasures, and assist this Warre with men and ammunition. For the truth is, that in this month I have received intelligence from the Captaines, that reside in the Province of the walls toward the North; wherein they give me notice, that in all parts of that Province there were proclamations published, wherein they did declare, that the *Tartars* were gathered together to Conquer this world of China; and gave me intelligence of the day appointed for the Battaile; the which accordingly was fought at that time, with a great strength and multitude of people: and entring within the wals, they have taken some of our men, to Sacrifice them: and the day before the battaile they did Sacrifice them with great acclamations to their King; and have already proclaimed him King of Pekim. They bring with them many hundred thousands of Souldiers; and each beareth about him severall sorts of Armes. Our men, who met to encounter and suppress them, were two Captaines-Generall, ninety six ordinary Captaines, and 300000 men at armes. They joyned battaile, and in the first encounter they killed thirty eight of our Captaines, amongst whom was one of our Generals: the others are slaine without number: they took also some thousands
of

of prisoners; and in the retreat, by reason of the confusion and disorder, there were killed by them above a thousand of our men. The people of the Cities are fled, as also those of the other Townes. Whereupon, the same day they made themselves masters of three Cities. Upon the receipt of this newes we assembled the Councell, the Colao, and other Mandarinēs of this Court, that in so weighty a businesse wee might finde some good expedient: And in truth it seemeth to us, that heaven doth favour the enemy, who otherwise could not have been able to have made such a slaughter of our people in one day, and to have taken three Cities: and so it seemeth heaven is angry with us. As also the Prodigies, which we have lately all seen, do demonstrate no lesse. In the Province of Pekim the last yeare it rained not at all; and the people went about like men halfe dead: and in the Province of Xankim, there was so great a dearth and famine, that the people did eat one another: and into Nankim came an infinite multitude of Mice; neither was it discovered, whence that plague came. In the royall palaces, of five parts the fire burnt downe two, and the wind overthrew five Towers of this City: we saw two Sunnes together, and the one did Eclipse the other. These are all things of evill Prognostication: but above all, we saw a man enter into the royall Palaces with resolution to kill the Prince; which he had done, had he not been hindred (This fell out when the King would have constituted his second sonne heire of the Kingdome, who was growne very powerfull by the favour and art of the Eunuches; and, at that time, there came in a man to have killed the eldest sonne, but he was hindred by his feare, and the women, who helped the Prince.) And the worst is, that, a Mandarin having spoken something high, shewing therein his fidelitie to you, our Lord, but for his Loyaltie you made him a Traitor, and commanded he should be put in prison, and although we made great means to free him, by declaring his innocency, yet you never gave care unto us. (This imprisonment was, when the King shewed his eldest sonne to the Mandarinēs in the royall hall, whom they would have had declared heire of the Kingdome, & the King would not: and one of them tooke the boldnesse to speake, and to plead for the true Prince, and was therefore committed prisoner by the King.)

Many times the Mandarinēs presented Memorials, wherein they did relate the miserable condition of the people, desiring that their Taxes might be lessened, a thing worthy of much consideration; but neither did you make any account thereof. We the Mandarinēs of this court have severall times petitioned, that you would come out, and give Audience in publick, as your Predecessours hetherto have done; that the government might be conformable to that of heaven, as it is most fitting: you answered us sometimes, that you were not well; other times, that the weather was cold and rough, and that we should meet another day: we expected till Spring time, then till the beginning of Summer, that you would performe what you had promised; but you not only gave no answer to the second Memoriall, but you commanded it to be burnt: and in this manner you live retired in the Palace, without making any account of what importeth you most. For this reason are the calamities so great; and we persecuted with warres. Peace is wanting; and, as it seemeth, it will be wanting; for we are come to see rivers of blood running downe: and above all, in the third moone last past, there came some from the Province of Xensu, to tell us, that there had appeared there a man cloathed in yellow, with a green cap on his head, and in his hand a fan of feathers, who spake

spake thus, Vanli (that is the name of the King) doth not governe, though he hath raigned long: he sleepeth alwaies: the Kingdome is ready to be lost, the people will die of hunger; the Captaines will be slaine and pierced through with lances: and when he had said this, he vanished. The Mandarinnes were amazed. The Vice-roy used great diligence to know who this man was: but could not possibly finde him out, seeing therefore the calamities, famine, warre, and other evils, which the Kingdome now suffereth, we plainly perceive, that it was a prognostication of these things. Wherefore we are againe returned to require you, speedily to open your treasures of money; that fresh levies of men may be made, and some remedy put to so great evils.

This is the *Memoriall*, which was presented in the year 1618 since when, the *Tartars* have continued every summer (for in the winter, by reason of the great cold, nothing can be done) to make considerable inroads; wherein they are commonly gainers, to the great losse of the *Chineses*. So that the year 1622, two principall *Madarines* of the fort of *Quamsi*, where, as being the chiefe fortresse of that Province, the *Vice-roy*, maketh his residence, (whether it were, that they were discontented, or had hopes to better their condition by it) made a secret agreement with the *Tartars* to deliver the fortresse into their hands, which accordingly they did, for the *Tartars* falling on upon that side, which was assigned them, as soone as ever they began the assault, they easily tooke it, by the Treason, which the others had plotted, and put to flight all them, who knew nothing of the treacherie; who, together with the *Vice-roy*, escaped to *Xambai*, the last fortresse (as it were) of that Province, and the first of the Province of *Pekim*; the key and strength of the whole Kingdome.

As soone as the newes of this last route came to Court, both the King and his *Grandees* were in great disorder, and deliberated to change his abode, and to remove to the Court of *Nankim*, as farthest off from danger; and it had accordingly been put in execution, if a principall *Mandarine* (for there is alwayes found some one or other, who taketh care of the publick good) had not presented a *Memoriall* to the King, wherein he demonstrated to him, that this alteration would be the best and readiest way to destroy the whole Kingdome, or the greater part at least, by dispoyling of all strength, the Court and Province of *Pekim*, that was so neere the other Province, which was now ready to be lost.

This *Memoriall* took effect; and by it the the designe of flying and seeking a new habitation, was broken off; it being formerly resolved, that *Nankim* should be fortified. There was therefore a proclamation sent out, which under great penalties, did prohibite any to go out of the Court, not only *Mandarinnes* and people of qualitie, but even the common people also. Vpon this the people began to bee quieted, especially seeing, that the Citie was strengthened with new *Garrisons*, *Guards*, *Watches*, and a rigorous strictnesse at the gate. The chiefe care was to fortifie the passe at *Xam Hai Quan*, which, as I said above, is on the very frontire of the Province of *Leaotum*, which was already lost, and on the entrance of the Province of *Pekim*, and by reason the place, streightened on both sides with very high mountaines, is impregnable: they sent thither great store of *Ammunition*, and fresh *Souldiers* in so great number, that it was reported

ted that at that post only they had 80000 men of Warre. The King also sent new *Captaines* with ample power, which would have been of greater effect, if he could have given it them over the *Tartars*, to conduct them that way: who seeing it was not possible to make their entrance at that place, both because it was so easie to defend, as also that it was well fortified with men, began to wheele off to the *East* side thereof, through part of *Corea*, giving off their designe of going toward *Pekim*, which if they had done with so powerfull and victorious an *Army*, they had put that Court into a greater feare and danger, than ever yet they had experience of. The *Chineffes* met them not far from the Court, where there began so furious a *Battaile*, that many men lost their lives both of the one and the other side, yet at the last the *Chineffes* had the victorie: *so great endeavour will men use to defend their own home.*

A little while after this fight arriv'd at the Court of *Pekim* a *Portughefs* named *Gonsalvo Texera*, who was sent thither with an *Embassie* and a Present from the City of *Macao*, who seeing the insolency of the *Tartars*, and the feare of the *Chineffes*, and judging that by it they might do service to the Crown of *Portugall*, and a kindnesse to themselves, in what the King of *China* might do for them, offered to the *Mandarines*, in the name of the City of *Macao*, some *Portugheffes* to assist them against the *Tartars*. The profer was kindly accepted of, and a *Memoriall* was presented to the King, who presently returned a favourable answer. The *Councell of Warre* dispatched a Father of our company to *Macao*, (who was already gone along with the *Embassadours* to negotiate this assistance) with severall orders to the officers of *Cantone*, to expedite the businesse as much as they could, with all liberalitie, and provision, and convenience for the men that were desired of them.

Four hundred men were put in order, that is 200 *Souldiers*, of which many were *Portugheffes*, some whereof were borne in *Portugall*, and some there: but the most of them were people of that Countrey, who although they were *Chineffes*, borne in *Macao*, yet were bred up among the *Portugheffes* after their manner, and were good *Souldiers*, and shot well in *Guns*. To each *Souldier* was given a youth to serve him, who was bought with the Kings money, and so large pay for themselves, that with it the *Souldiers* clothed themselves richly, and provided themselves with armes, and were after all that left very rich too.

These *Souldiers* set out from *Macao* with two *Captaines*, one whereof was named *Pietro Corderio*, the other *Antonio Rodriguez del capoo*, with their *Alfieres* and other *Officers*. When they were come to *Cantone*, they mustered themselves with so much gallantrie, and with such salutes of their *Musquetrie*, that the *Chineffes* were astonished.

There they were furnished with boates to passe up the river, with all convenience, through the whole Province, being presented by the *Magistrates*, when they came to any of their Cities and Villages, sending refreshment for them all, of *Hens*, *Beefe*, *Fruit*, *Wine*, *Rice*. &c.

They passed over the Mountaines which divide the Province of *Cantone* from that of *Kiamsi* (and is lesse than a daies journey from the other River) all on horse-back, even to the meanest of their servants. Presently

fenty, upon the other side of the Mountaine, they were imbarqued againe, and going down the River, they crossed after the same manner almost all the Province of *Kiamsie*, till they came to the *Metropolis* thereof, where I lived at that time, and had under my direction a good number of Christians, there they stayed only to see the City, and to be wel looked on by them. They were invited by many of the noble men, that they might looke upon the Fashion of their habit, and other things which seemed strange to them; they treated them with all manner of *Courtesie*, and commended and admired all, except the Slashing and pinking of their cloathes, not being able to conceive, why, when a piece of stufte is whole and new, men should cut it in severall places for ornament. But, when they had seen this City, these men returned, without any other effect, but the expence and great losse of the *Chineffes*, occasioned by the *Tartars* in severall encounters, because they were deprived of this succour.

The occasion of their returne was, that the *Chineffes*, who traffique in *Cantone* with the *Portugheffes*, and are their Correspondents for their businesse, from which they draw a vast profit, began to perceive that by this entrance and the good successe thereof, of which they made no doubt at all, it would be an easie thing for the *Portugheffes* to obtaine licence to enter into the Kingdome, and to do their businesse, and sell their Merchandise themselves, and by this meanes they should come to lose their gaines: therefore, before the *Portugheffes* set out, they used all their endeavour to hinder their going, presenting many papers against it, and at last, the Magistrate answering, that he could do no lesse, having already parted with the money, and distributed among the *Souldiers*, not only ordinarie, but very high and advantageous pay, they offered, at their owne charges, to re-imburse the whole money to the King. But seeing that this way neither they could obtaine their ends, it is reported, that they sent to Court that money, which they would have given, and presenting it to the *Mandarines*, prevailed so, that those very men, who had proposed the *Portugheffes* to the King, as an important succour, did againe present a memoriall, wherein they expressed, that there was now no need of them; The King answered, (and I my selfe saw the Royal answer,) It is not long since that ye did propose to us, that these men should enter into the Kingdome, and assist us against the *Tartars*: now ye say, they are not necessary. When ye propose any thing, it were good you considered of it better, howbeit, if they are not necessary, let them returne.

In this manner did that expedition of the *Portugheffes* come to an end, without any profit at all to the Kingdome, but much to the *Souldiers*, besides that they had an opportunitie to see a good part of *China*. The *Tartars* have ever since continued the warre after the same manner, and do continue it to this day; and have forced the Kingdome of *Corea* to pay them tribute, as they payed to *China*; although they stil pay to the *Chineffes* as much as they did formerly.

CHAP. 22.

Of the King and Queenes of China, and of the Eunuches.

Although the *Chineſſes* have been ſo diligent in their *Chronicles* & Records, that they have preſerved the memorie of above 3000 yeares to this time; nevertheleſſe they have ſuffered a great loſſe and damage in the knowledge of many things contained in them by the burning of thoſe books, which are called by them *The Hiſtory*, and in reality, the buſineſſe was thus.

A King named *Tien*, (whither it were as ſome think out of the hatred he bore to learning, or as ſome hold with more probability, that he might extinguiſh the memory of his *Anceſtours*, and leave only his owne to poſteritie) excepting only the books of *Phyſick*, as only neceſſarie to the Common-Wealth, commanded by a rigorous law, that the reſt of their books ſhould be burnt, with ſo much ſeveritie as if every volume were guilty of high treaſon, and under ſo great penalities for any that hid them, that it was to coſt him no leſſe than his life, and in effect he cauſed fourtie *Litterati* to be burned together with their books which they had hid.

This perſecution laſted the ſpace of forty yeares, at what time they began to renew their ancient *Chronicles*, by meanes of certaine books and fragments that had eſcaped, ſome of them being buried under ground, and others immured in the middle of walls, and after many yeares and a diligent ſearch, they ſet on foot againe the more principall matters; yet there were many things wanting, and eſpecially concerning the firſt *Kings* and *Princes* of this *Kingdome*.

However it is certainly known, that their firſt *Government* was by way of *Families*; every one governing his own, as anciently the *Patriarks* did. The ſecond was *Monarchicall*, but it is not certaine how it began: neither have they any thing certaine concerning the originall of it. They do commit a notable error in the time of their *Chronologies*: for the *Emperour Yao*, from whoſe time they do begin to give credit to their *Hiſtories*, even according to the moſt favourable computation, from the creation of the world to *Noah*, they make to be twelve yeares before the floud; nevertheleſſe, although there be an error of the time in the *Hiſtorie* of this *Emperour* and thoſe that follow, it is certaine, that the matters related, are very coherent with their ſucceſſions.

Now this *Emperour Yao*, without having any regard to the naturall and lawful ſucceſſion of his ſonne, left the *Empire* to *Xun* his Sonne-in-law, only, becauſe he diſcovered in him parts and qualities worthie of the *Government*. *Xun* like wiſe for the ſame reſpect gave the *Empire* to *Yü*, who was no kin to him. Theſe three *Emperours* are much eſteemed by the *Chineſſes* for holy men: concerning whom they relate many things. And truly there is no doubt, but that they were *Philoſophers*, well inclined to morall vertues.

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They do attribute much merit to the last of these three, for the *Adjusting* of the *waters* (as they call it :) which was done by him through the Kingdom, which in that time did abound in lakes and moarish places, and therefore in many parts could not be tilled. This King going in person, and commanding large trenches to be made, (wherein many years were spent) he gave vent to that multitude of waters, and by that meanes recovered a great deale of ground which was of great profit for tillage. There are some in *Europe* who believe that these *waters* were the reliques of the *flood*. The *Chinenses*, although they make a large mention of these *waters* in their books, of the draining of them, and of the benefit which accrued thereby to the Kingdom, do not say any thing of any occasion or originall of them.

After these three *Emperours* abovenamed, the *Empire* was ever continued by succession; but not in the same *family*; for there were many *Princes* and *Lords*, who although they were subject to the *Emperour*, yet, sometimes for particular respects, and otherwhile under pretence of evill *Government* and *Tyranny*, made *warres*, *confederacies* and *disorders*, with which they either disturbed and troubled the *Monarchy*, or divided it, or else usurped it all to themselves; So that although it lasted in some families many years, as in that of *Tham* for 400. years, and in some other families little lesse, yet the *Monarchy* from the beginning, to this present day, hath been changed into two and twenty severall *Families*.

The *Lords* of particular states continued in *China* 2000 years, till in the year of our redemption 1206, the *Tartars*, who then possessed another Country, began to make themselves Masters of *China*; and advanced so farre by degrees, till at length they brought it all under their subjection, reigning there as absolute, till the year 1368. At what time, *Hum Vu*, the founder of the family, which reigneth at present, seeing the strength of the *Tartars* to be diminished, and their *Tyranny* encreased, and the people so wearied therewith that they were well disposed to shake off the yoke, and set themselves at libertie; gathered together an army with such good successe, that he not only discomfited the *Tartars*, and drove them out of the Kingdom, but entred also into their Country, and conquered a good part thereof.

The *Kingdome* being thus re-establisht in its naturall estate, *Hum Vu* seeing himselfe become absolute *Lord* thereof, set on foot an admirable kinde of *Government*, differing in part from that of all other *Monarchies*; yet it is such a one, as hath now been conserved almost 300 years, with so much subjection, communication and dependance from its head, that so great an *Empire*, seemeth to be but, as it were, one well governed convent. This *King* in the first place conferred many favours and graces upon all his subjects: Liberalitie being that, which doth most demonstrate a royall minde: he created new officers, yet retained he some of the former ones, as we shall relate in its proper place.

To the *chiefe* and *principall Captaines* he assigned large revenues, to the *second* a very competent maintenance, and to those of the *third* sort, sufficient. He tooke away all the *Princes* and *Lords* of vassals and subjects, without leaving one: he prohibited by a rigorous law, that none of the

Royall family, neither in peace nor warre, nor in any case, might beare office in the *Common-wealth*, either *civil*, *criminall*, or *military*; neither might they be suffered to enter into the *examinations*, to receive their degree (the which last prohibition, as I have formerly said, hath been lately taken away in part.) He placed the whole *Government* in the *Litterati*, who are created such by way of concurrence, (as hath been declared, when I spake of the examinations) without any dependance at all on the Magistrates, or the King himselfe, but only by the merit of their learning, good parts, and vertues. He did not annull those ancient lawes, which concerned good *Government*, and hindred not his intent; which was only to perpetuate the *Monarchy* in his *Posteritie*. But he made many new ones, and modelled the *Common-wealth* and the *Government* into that form, wherein it standeth at present; although in so many years, and in so vast a *Monarchie*, it hath not been possible, but that it should receive some alteration, though not in any essentiall part thereof.

The *King* is called by diverse names. For the better understanding whereof, you must know that there are *thirteen things* remarkable at his *Coronation*. The *first* is the changing of the account of years, beginning their supputation a new from the entrance of the new *Kings* reigne; and this not only in their ordinary discourse, but in all letters, dispatches, provisos, writings, &c. The *second*, that there is coyned new money, with the letters of his name, although the former continueth current also. The *third* is, That he Crowneth his true wife, making her as it were, *Empresse*. The *fourth* is, That he giveth the name of *Queen* to six *Concubines*. The *fifth* is, That there are great sacrifices made to *Heaven*, to the *Earth*, to the *Spirits*, &c. The *sixt*, That there are great store of Almes given to the poore. The *seaventh*, That all prisoners are set at libertie, whose freedom is not prejudiciall to a *third* party. The *eighth*, That there are sumptuous banquets made for the Magistrates. The *ninth*, That all the women are to depart out of the Palace, that have been *Concubines* to the former King. The *tenth*, The Palaces, which are foure in number, wherein the other women lived, are furnished againe with new women, pickt & chosen throughout the whole realme: in time of which search there are many marriages made, every one endeavouring to deliver his daughter from that subjection. The *eleventh*, The *Nobilitie* of the *bloud royall* do send deputies (not every one, but all those of one City) to render obedience to the King, and to acknowledge him for such: In like manner also do the *Tituladoes*, which cannot do it in their owne persons. The *twelfth* is, That all Officers, from *Vice-royes* to the meanest Judges of Townes, go in person to *Court*, to render the same obedience, on the behalfe of their Provinces, Cities, and Townes. Lastly the Kings name is changed, as is used among us at the election of the *Pope*; and this is that name, which is written in all publick acts, on moneyes, &c. It is a name of a particular, but royall person, as that of this Kings Grandfather was, *Vam Lie*; of his father, *Thai Cham*; of his Brother who raigned first, *Thien Khi*, and of this King, *Tenm Chim*.

They have moreover three names, which signifie a King: The *first* is *Kinn*, and by this they use to call forreigne Kings: The *second* is *Vam*, and by this name they call the Infantoes, or Kings children; joyning them together

gether *Kiun Vam*, they make a name, by which their King may be called. But the principall name is *Ho Am Ti*, that is, *Emperour*.

In the Palace, the Women, Eunuchs, and other domesticks thereof call him *Chu*, that is, Lord. They call him also *Thien Zu*, which is to say, *Sonne of Heaven*; not because they believe him to be such, but because they hold, that *Empire* is a gift of heaven; as also to render the respect, which is due to the royall person, more sacred: and in realitie, the reverence which they use towards him, seemeth more befitting a Divine, than humane person; and the manner how they behave themselves at this day in his presence, is more proper for a Church, than a prophane Palace.

I said at this day, because in former times it was not so. For then the Kings of *China* lived according to the fashion of the greatest part of the other Princes of the world: They went abroad, conversed, hunted; and there was one of them so greedy of this recreation, that, whereby he might have the opportunity of spending whole months together in hunting without returning to Court, and attending upon the affaires of government, did substitute one of his Sonnes in his place. The *Emperours* did visit in person the whole Kingdome, at what time there happened that story which is so famous in *China*, and which deserveth likewise to be known in *Europe*.

The *Emperour* going this progresse, in a certaine way met with a company of men, who were leading certaine prisoners. He caused the coach to stop, and enquired what the matter was; which as soone as he had understood, he fell a weeping. They who accompanied him began to comfort him, and one of them said unto him, Sir, *It is not possible, but that in a Common-wealth there must be chastisements; it cannot be avoyded; so have the former Kings, your predecessours, commanded it to be; so have the laws ordained it; so doth the government of the state require it.* The King answered, *I weepe not to see these men prisoners, nor to see them chastised: I know very well, that without rewards the good are not encouraged, and without chastisement the wicked are not restrained, and that chastisement is as necessary to the government of a Kingdome, as bread is for the nourishment and sustenance thereof. But I weepe, because my time is not so happy, as that of old was, when the vertues of the Princes were such, that they served as a bridle to the people, and their example was sufficient to restrain the whole Kingdome without any other chastisement.* This was a *Heathen*, who spake thus: and who seeth not how much reason we have to envy these *Heathens*, who, although they are exceeded by us in the knowledge of things belonging to *faith*, do yet oftentimes surpasse us in the practise of *morall vertues*?

According as I have said, the ancient Kings did personally attend the Government, giving audience very easily and very frequently to all their subjects. In the time of King *Tham* there was a *Colao*, who having been his Master, was very powerfull with him, who, to preserve himselfe in his grace and favour, studied more to speak what should please the King, than to tell him the truth for the good of his state: a most abominable thing. But the *Chinesses* seeing his honour was great, and the Kings favour towards him very extraordinary, did dissemble it all; notwithstanding they forbore not to speak of it among themselves, and to taxe the flattery of
the

the *Colao*. One day certaine Captaines of the guard discoursing among themselves in the Palace concerning this point, one of them, being a little warmed with the discourse, secretly withdrawing himselfe out of the company, went into the hall, where the King then was, & kneeled downe upon his knees before him, the King asking, what he would have? He answered; *Leave to cut off the head of a flattering Subject.* And *who is that*, replied the King? *Such a one, that stands there*, answered the other. The King being angry, said, *Against my Master dare you propose this, and in my presence? Let them take him away and cut off his head.* When they began to lay hands upon him, he caught hold of a wooden balenster, and as there were many pulling of him, and he holding with a great deale of strength, the balenster broke. By that time the Kings anger was over; and he commanded they should let him go, and gave order, that the balenster should be mended, and that they should not make a new one, that it might remaine a witnesse of the fact, and the *Memoriall* of a subject, that was not afraid to advise his King, what he ought to do.

Such was the facility, with which, not only the Officers, but any one whosoever of the people, might have admission to the King; so that within the first gate of the Palace, there was always a Bell, a Drumme, and a Table overlaid with a white varnish, as it were, playstered over; upon this, he that would not speak to the King in person, wrote what his request was, which was presently carried to the King: But whosoever would speak with him, rang the Bell, or beat the Drumme, and presently they were brought in, and had audience.

The Drumme remaines even to this day; but as it seemeth to me, rather in memory of the times past, than for any use of the present: for during twenty two years time, I do not remember, that it was ever beaten above once: and he that did it, was presently paid his pension in ready *Bastinadoes*; for having disquieted the King, who was about halfe a league off. After this hard penance, he was heard, and allowed, not to see or speak to the King, but according to the custome now in use, in a petition. So that the Kings are now become so retired, and removed from the sight of the people, and as it were, so idolized, and mewed up in their Palaces, that they give them occasion to think in other Countries, that the King of *China* never suffereth himselfe to be seen, and that he is always shut up in a glasse, and only sheweth one foot, and such like things.

He who first put himselfe in this manner of living, was *Vam Lie*, the Grandfather of him that reigneth at present; he had some occasion to do it, because he was so fat, that it put him to great paine and trouble, to carry himselfe in publick, with that *Gravitie* and *Majestie*, that is proper to a King; and therefore he did exempt himselfe wholly from this trouble. He gave no *Audience*; he went not to the sacrifices; he went not out in publick: neverthelesse he was a person of great prudence and judgement in managing the government: He was much esteemed of the *Mandarines*, though he made little account of them. He used to say many times, when any one was troublesome by replying often with their memorialls or petitions, in which kinde the *Chinesses* are very importunate, *I was a King, and governed before this fellow was borne, and yet he will undertake to teach me.*

His

His Sonne, who succeeded him, changed also the former fashion, as also they that followed, going out indeed in publick, but so moderately, that it is only sometimes in the month to hold a *Royal Audience*, and four times a yeare they go out of the *Palace*, and out of the *City*, to Sacrifice at the four seasons of the yeare, to *Heaven*, and to the *Earth*, in a *Temple* built for this purpose without the walls of the *City*.

This *Temple* is truly *Royall*, as well in the greatnesse thereof, as in the exquisitenesse of the workmanship: the figure of it is round, with three rowes of pillars one above another, for it stands as it were on a Hill or Mount compassed about with those pillars. The wall of the *Temple* beginneth at the top of the third row; there are four paire of staires by which they ascend to it, placed towards the four windes, all of white marble and very well wrought.

The *Temple* of *Nankim* is a very perfect and compleat piece of workmanship, it hath five Isles sustained by pillars of wood, which have no painting or ornament upon them, except on their *Pedestalls*, that it may bee seen that each is made of one entire piece of wood. Truly they are the goodliest trees, the biggest, highest, most uniform and equall (although they are very many) that can be imagined. And as for my part, I confesse it is one of the remarkable things I have seen in *China*; and that one shall hardly find in all the rest of the world, so many trees of that beauty and uniformitie. The *Seeling* is all gilded, and although it be above 200 yeares since it was done, and that it be farre remote from the eye of the King, (the Sacrifices not being made therein, which are wont to be performed only at the Court, where the King resideth) yet it doth to this day keep its splendour. In the middle thereof are raised two Thrones made of the most precious marbles, on one of them the King used to sit when he came thither to sacrifice: the other was left empty for the *Spirit*, to whome the Sacrifice was offered. The gates are all adorned with plates of Copper, enriched with severall works and embossments, all gilt: without the *Temple* are many Alters, with the statues of the *Sunne*, *Moon*, *Planets*, *Spirits*, *Mountaines*, *Rivers* &c. Round about the *Temple* are severall cells, They say that anciently they were Baths, where the King and the Ministers that were to Sacrifice, did wash themselves. The Grove, which standeth on the rest of the plaine, consisteth of severall trees, but the greatest part are Pines: not so much as a Twigge of them may be cut off under most greivous penalties. The wal that encompasseth it is covered with glazed Tiles, some of yellow colour, others of green. The circuit thereof is twelve miles.

To this *Temple*, as I said, the King cometh, and when he cometh forth, the wayes are Barracadoed, leaving only free that part through which the King is to passe: who bringeth with him so many *Eunuches*, who encompasse him, so many Officers that accompanie him, and so many Souldiers that guard him, that it is altogether impossible for him to be seen, especially being carried in a Sedan.

These are the only occasions, wherein the King either appeareth or goeth abroad. All the rest of his time he staideth at home in his *Palace*, like a King of Bees, without either seeing or being seen. Many are perswa-

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ded, that this is not to live like a King, but like a criminall Person condemned to perpetuall imprisonment. How ever, it seemeth to me a great matter, that a man, without being seen, by his power only should be the most revered, the most obeyed and feared, of all the Kings in the world. And as for the prison, if we will call his *Palace* so, it is very large and pleasant for to give him delight, besides that he hath the libertie to go out whensoever he pleaseth, & his habitations therein are so commodious, and full of all manner of entertainment, of pleasure and recreation, that he hath no need to seek abroad wherewith to content himself.

His *Palaces*, laying every thing together that is contained in them, I think are the best that are to be found in the world. Those of *Nankim*, which are the biggest, containe about five miles in circuit. Those of *Pekim*, are somewhat lesse, but much the better. These are not all one *Palace*, but many, at a good distance one from the other. That of the *King*. That of the *Queen*. That of the *Prince*. That of the *Younger Sonnes*. That of his *Daughters who are married*. That of the *Second and Third Queens*. For the *Concubines* there are foure, at the foure corners, and are from them named the *Palaces* of the *Ladies*. There are also some *Palaces* for the old and Penitent women, which they call *Lemcum*, that is, the cold *Palaces*. Besides there are colledges for the *Eunuches*, for the *Litterati*, *Priests*, *singing-men*, *Comedians* &c. and almost infinite habitations for so many Offices as there are there within, and for that multitude of people that are employed there, who are at the least 17000 persons.

The structure of the *Palaces* is very exact, having many things in it after the manner of ours, as *Arches*, *Balansfers*, *Columnes* and, such like, of Marble excellently wrought, with severall little workes and curious enrichments, as also embossments, or figures in *relieve*, so well raised and standing out, that they seem to hang in the aire. That which is wrought in wood, is all varnished over with their *Charan*, painted and gilded very exquisitely.

The *Halls* and *Roomes*, although they are not, as it is here reported, one of Gold, another of Silver, another of precious stones, neither do they use any hangings; yet the hand of the Architect, and the pensil of the painter doth supply all other ornaments. The Base Courts are very neat and spacious. There are also many pleasant Gardens, and a River which runneth among the *Palaces*, and yeeldeth them much delight with his windings and turnings. There are many artificiall mounts with very rare Beasts and Birds, many Gardens made with exquisite diligence, and all manner of curiositie. There was a certaine King among them, who being discontented at the spoile which the winter made in the beauty of the trees, depriving them both of leaves and flowers, commanded that many artificiall ones should be made, with great labour and expence, and little satisfaction of the Magistrates, who did much blame him.

The whole fabrique is encompassed with two walls that have foure gates opening to the foure windes, *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*, and this last is the chieftest, and maketh a beautifull and slightly *facciata* or aspect to the *Palaces*.

At every gate there stand every night five Elephants (which are not bred

bred in that Countrey, but come from other parts) with their Souldiers belonging to them, and the whole wall round about is guarded with Souldiers.

Within the said Gates, there is a Court able to containe 30000 Persons, and there standeth alwaies a Guard of 30000 men.

At the uper end of this Court there are five Gates, which lead into a very large *Hal* of the *Palace*; in the midst whereof is placed a *Royal Throne*, which standeth empty, and is called, *The Throne of courtesies*, because all they, who go out, do make their reverence to it, as you shall hear anone.

As for the Women, there is only one of them, which is the Kings true wife, and hath the name of *Hoam Heu*, which signifieth *Empresse*; and is acknowledged for such, having her seate behind that of the Kings. There are also other six Women, who have the title of *Queens*, and are also much respected. In the *Palaces of Nankim*, which because they are empty, are more easie to be seen, there is a *Royall Throne* raised upon severall steps, and a cloth of state over it, with two Royall seates, one for the King, and the other for the Queen. And lower behind that, there stand six, three on the one side, and three on the other, for the six *Queens*. The King hath thirty Women more, who are all much honoured and respected.

The other Ladies of the *Palace*, who as they say, are about 3000 in number, have their Appartments in the foure *Palaces* above-said, and are beautifull Damfels, sought out on purpose through the whole Kingdome. To these the King goeth, when he pleaseth, and to which of them liketh him best.

The present King hath the reputation to be chaste; and they use to say of him, *Puyeu Cum*, that is, *he goeth not to the Palaces*. There have been formerly other Kings, like to him in this, who are much commended in their histories; as on the contrary, others who are much blamed; such was one of them, whose beastial appetite, not being able to determine to what *Palace*, or to what part of it he should go, used in this irresolution to suffer himself to be lead and guided by beasts, that is, he had a little chariot drawn with Goates, in which he rid to the *Palaces*, and wheresoever they entred, or stopped, thither he went in.

Another, to save himself the labour of going to the *Palaces*, caused Pictures to be drawn of every Ladie, and according as he fancied each Picture, he sent for the originall to be brought to him; leaving the beauty of each of them in the power of the Painter, she being still made the fayrest, whom he favoured most, or from whom he received the best Present.

But concerning the Kings children, if the *Empresse* and true wife of the King, hath a sonne, at what time soever he be borne, he taketh place of the rest: but if shee have none, the first sonne of any of his women whatsoever, taketh place; although the King desire, that another should have the precedency. So it happened to *Vamlie*, who although he had none by his lawful wife, the *Empresse*; yet had two sonnes, one by a waiting maid, which was the eldest, and another younger sonne by one of the *Queens* his *Concubines*; which sonne he loved very much; and by reason of the

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particular affection he bore him, would by all means leave him the Kingdom, saying, That by reason he had no Sonne by his lawfull wife, the succession was not due by right to any of the rest, but that it belonged to him, to elect which of them he pleased: and because the elder was the Sonne of a servant, he chose rather to leave the Kingdome to the other; notwithstanding, the Officers of the Court did very stoutly oppose him, saying, That since he had had commerce with that servant, she was enobled by a superiour law, and that her sonne, being the eldest, he ought not to lose the rights and priviledge of his birth. There happened upon this a *Tragedy*, with severall acts of discontent. For the King persisted to carry on his intention, and the Officers in resisting him: whereupon many lost their offices, the King taking them away; others left theirs of their owne accord, and having laid downe the ensignes of their dignity, hung them up at the gate of the *Palace*, and departed to their own houses, despising at once the honour, profit, dignity and revenue of their places, only for the defence of reason, and of the laws and customs of the Kingdom. A courage worthy to be imitated, in divine affaires at least, if not in all secular causes. At length the King, being no longer able to contrast, was forced, besides his wont, to hold a *Royall Audience*, and taking his eldest sonne, now as Prince, placed him next behinde him, and shewing him to the *Mandarines*, he recommends unto them the care of the publick peace, and quiet without doores, assuring them, that within the *Palace* all was quiet, and that *Thai Cham*, that was the name of the present Prince, should succeed him without fayle in the Kingdom, as in effect it fell out. So prevalent is reason, and the constancy of Counsellours even against the most powerful Kings.

Among the Domesticks of the *Palace*, the *Eunuchs* make the greatest number. In the year 1626. there were reckoned to be 12000. of them, and for the most part their number is very little greater; or lesse. They are all distributed into their *Palaces*, *Colledges*, *Classes*, *Tribunals*, and *Occupations*: So that within the *Royall Palace*, there are as many *Tribunals*, to decide causes, as there are without; not to speak of the women, who have their justice apart; there being among them some, who are appointed to governe and judge the rest, and to decide their differences; as also to condemne and punish them: and this, no more than is necessary.

The first and principall *Colledge* of the *Eunuchs*, is called, *Su Li Kien*; and consisteth of the great *Secretaria* of purity; of the chancery within the *Palace*, and of many Assistants, who are always advanced in the same *Colledge* according to their examinations and trialls. These always accompany the Kings person; and when he goeth abroad, have the place next his body. These may enter without being called; and, the manner of the Kings governing, being by way of petitions, and rescripts, every thing passeth through their hands.

Next followeth the *Colledge*, which they call, *Thum Cham Su*, which is, as it were, a *Soveraigne Tribunall* of justice, over all the *Eunuchs*. This causeth their persons to be arrested, this condemneth and causeth them to be punished; and not only the *Eunuchs*, but also other persons of great *Authority*, in matters of high concernment are remitted to them; and it is the most rigorous *Tribunal* of justice of all those in *China*. The *President* is also

Captaine

Captaine of the Kings guard, which consisteth of 9000. men, 6000. foot, and 3000. horse. In time of warre he entrencheth into the *Councell of warre*, where he is allowed the highest place.

There are also other *Colledges* and *Tribunals*; as those of severall *Treasuries*, the *Treasurie of Jewells*, of rich *Moveables*, of *Habits*, of *Magazines*, &c.

There is also a *Colledge of Judicall Astrologers*, who observe the stars, and the motion of the Heavens, who together with the chiefe *Mathematician*, who is always a *Mandarine* abroad, do make the *Almanacke* for the year following.

There is a *Colledge of particular Priests*, called *Laon Su*, (for the *Bonzi* are not admitted, neither may they enter into the Kings Palaces) these have the charge of the Divine service, the Chappells, Offices, and Sepulchres of the dead &c. There are also *Colledges of Musicians, Comedians or Players, Painters, Gold-smiths*, every one performing his office requisite to a well ordered Common-wealth.

Without the *Palace* many are prefects of the publick works, of the guards which keep watch every night without the *Palaces*, of the Kings sepulchres, of the Gabells and Impositions, and other such employments, by which they grow very rich: and by reason they have no children (though they are most of them married,) they make great expenses: they have sumptuous Country-houses without the City, and within, *Palaces* full of all delights, richly furnished, & a stately traine of Servants, Their sepulchres are the most costly, they have the strongest perswasion of the *Transmigration of Soules*, and, that they might be well provided when they take their next new forme, are the most devoutest worshippers of the Idols.

The *Eunuchs* are exempted from all those Courtesies & complements, which others are obliged to pay the *Mandarines*; as, lighting off their horses, or coming out of their chaires when they meet them. In the Court they are not permitted to have many servants after them, nor to weare very rich apparell, and but few are allowed to be carried in a sedan, yet almost all of them are suffered to ride on horse-back.

When in the *Palace* there is not an *Eunuch* that is the Kings favourite, the *Eunuchs* which live without the *Palace* are wont to make great Court to the *Mandarines*, lend them their faire and commodious houses, and endeavour by all observance to gaine their good will. But if it happen, that the King have an *Eunuch* to his favourite, as sometimes it falleth out, presently they grow insolent, the governments are conferred upon them, and then they get the upper hand.

The last King had an *Eunuch*, who arrived to all that grace and favour with him, that can be imagined: this fellow governed with so great insolence and *Tyranny*, that he apprehended, chastised, and put to death, even Persons of the greatest *Qualitie*. To touch him, though but in imagination, was an excesse of *Treason*. And though the *Chineffes* are very free and bold in speaking the truth, even to the King himselve, yet none durst speak against him.

The Prince, who is now King, undertooke the businesse, who only told

the King his father, that his subjects Persons of worth and quality were ill used. This was sufficient to banish the *Eunuch* out of the Palace, who at length miserably ended his dayes. For as soone as the King was dead, he poysoned himselfe; and at the same time put a period to his favour and his life, but not to the peoples hatred, who as soone as he was dead, dragged him about the streets, and tore him to pieces: All his goods were confiscate to the King; they amounted to a great value, for there was scarce any body who had not formerly presented him, and many had given him very rich presents. Among other things there were found two chests full of Pearle only; it was said, he had robbed the Kings Treasury of them. The sumptuous works, which were either begun or ended through the whole Kingdom, in honour of him, as Temples to place his statue in (which they call *Temples of the living*, and use to erect them to eminent persons, who have deserved well of the King and Kingdome) *Palaces, Triumphall Arches*, and such like fabriques, were all cast down to the ground, leaving no other memory of them, than a comedy, which was presently made of him, and is yet acted to this day, concerning his disgrace and driving out of the *Palace*.

Now because some of these *Eunuchs*, are many times dismissed, and turned away, others grow old, and many die, from time to time there are young ones chosen in, to be put in their places: upon this account there comes almost infinite of these *Eunuchs* to the Court, who are made such by their parents, either for the profit which they make by it, because they are always bought of them for a price, or else for the advantage they may receive by them, when they come to preferment in the Palace, or for those other conveniences, which are certaine and assured to persons of this condition.

At every election, there are chosen about 3000 of them; at what time they principally consider in their choise, their age, good shape and behaviour, their speech and gracefull pronunciation, but above all, that they wholly want that, which they pretend to have lost, and that they be completely *castrated*; and moreover, every fourth year they are visited, least any thing should grow out againe, which hath not been well taken away.

When the election is done, the rest are sent away from the Court; and those that are chosen, are distributed to those lodgings, occupations and offices, to which they are to apply themselves. This is done almost, as it were by destiny, for without observing of them any more than a few days, some are put to study, and go to the Colledges of the greatest credit, honour and profit, others are chosen for Priests, others for Singers, Comedians, &c. And others for the kitchen, and such like meane and laborious occupations.

This is that which passeth in the *Palace* within the gates in what appertaineth to the Kings person and service. That which passeth without doores is also very particular, and with so much exactnesse, that it exceedeth all *Hyperbole*: and although the kingdome be so vast and large, yet it is not sufficient to hide one guilty person, that would make his escape. The very trees seem to be afraid to cover him with their shade. If a person

son of qualitie be to be apprehended, they send the Ministers of justice to him, who have no more to do, but to throw the cord or chaine at his feet; the which he himselfe taketh up, and putteth about his neck, as if it were a chaine of Gold; and the very name of these is sufficient to strike a terrour in any.

In the City of *Suchu* in the Province of *Nankim*, there lived a *Mandarine*, a grave Person, who had passed through most of the greatest Offices in the Kingdome, with great satisfaction and good liking of the people, it was in the time of that powerfull *Eunuch*, of whom we spake even now, this man had intelligence that these Ministers of justice would be sent to him, he stayed not their coming, but made a banquet to his kindred and friends, toward the end thereof going out, as if it had been upon some other occasion, he cast himselfe out of a Balcone into a fish Pond, where he drowned himselfe. His Guests seeing him stay so long, went out to looke him, and found upon a Table a paper having these words written with his own hand, *Turning towards the Palace, I performe the reverence due to my King, whom I have alwayes endeavoured to serve with resolutions becoming a faithfull subject: and it is not reasonable, that I should suffer from the hand of an Eunuch affronts worthy a base and criminall Person.*

There needs no more than two letters sent from the King, and put in any place, to make it remaine, as it were, enchanted: so that, if they want any thing in the Palace, as *Chà, Fruit.* &c. it is sufficient to send to the Countrie, where those things are they desire, to give them notice only, and to set up those two letters, *Xim Chi*, that is, *the will of the King*, and presently every thing is made ready, and none dare stir so much as a leafe of it. The same thing hapneth when there is any extraordinarie businesse to be done, which carrieth some difficultie with it, for it is sufficient to set up the two letters above-said, and all opposition is levelled, as it fell out when the King gave the houses of an *Eunuch*, who was a prisoner, to the Fathers of our company, for a burying place, by clapping the said letters upon them.

In all the Cities of the Kingdome every moneth, on the first day of the moone the Magistrates assemble themselves at the tribunall of the Governour before a Throne, where are placed the *Royall Ensignes*, and there they do reverence to them in the same manner, as they would do to the King himselfe, if he were present. They doe the like also on his birth day.

At the beginning of every yeare each Province sendeth an Embassadour to visit the King, and as often as they write letters to him, they do not send them by way of the post, but a principall *Mandarine* goeth to carry them. But their memorialls, or petitions they send by the Post. Every three yeeres, all the great *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, go to do homage to the King.

None may enter into the *Royall Palaces*, no not into the first gate, if he be clothed in Mourning, neither do they go to make their reverence in an ordinarie habit; but in that extraordinarie one appointed for *Courtesies*, and the Magistrates are to put on a red garment.

None, of what condition soever, may passe before the gates of the Palace on horse-back, nor in a Sedan, nor in any other manner, except on
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foot, no not if they be women, and by how much the *Qualitie* of the Person is the greater, so much the further off is he to light, and go a-foot.

All the Officers and Persons of *Qualitie*, who come to the Court, are presently obliged either in the morning early, if they come, or late at night, if they go out, to go to *Kun Chao*, that is, the Court of *Ceremonies*, as is above-said, and before the *Royall Throne*, which is placed in a Hall, although the King be not there, who at that houre is for the most part in bed, and when all that came in that morning, are assembled, (there being no morning that there is not a good number of them) the Master of the *Ceremonies* commeth, and with a loud voice declareth the *Ceremonies*, which every one ought to performe, and they all in the same manner put them in execution: and if by misfortune any one committeth an error or doth any gesture not reverently enough, it belongeth to the Master of the *Ceremonies* to give the King notice thereof by a memoriall, as in like manner doth the Person that is culpable, accusing himselfe, and requiring some penance for it: but this is done purely out of *Ceremony*, the king never taking any heed to it.

All *Embassadours* are obliged likewise to the same *Ceremonies*, when they enter into the Court, or go out thereof: they use to be lodged in one of the *Palaces*, which are within a spacious circuit of wal, neere to the *Royall Palace*, and are alwayes kept in a readinesse for that purpose, where they are royally treated, and at great expence; but they may not go out of that circuit, and if they would have any thing out of the City, it is brought to them into that place: they neither see nor speak to the King, but only the *Councill of Rites* by the Kings order treateth with them, and dispatched them.

The *Portugheffes*, those two severall times they were sent thither from the City of *Macao*, were not only treated with extraordinary magnificence, and liberalitie; but had also that particular priviledge to lodge out of that place: and the first of them that were sent, saw King *Thienkie*, the brother of him who now reigneth, he was very young, and out of curiositie to see men of a strange Nation, he caused them to come to the *Palace*, and although it was at a good distance, yet he saw them, and was plainly seen by them.

Every one in the Kings presence speaketh to him on his knees, if he be in the *Royall Hall* with the Magistrates, he goeth away before they rise up, if he be sick and they come to visit him, they speak to him in the same manner, and before they rise off their knees a Curtaine is drawn before him, or else he turneth himselfe on the other side. When they speak to him, they hold in their hands before their mouth a Tablet of Ivory a palm and a half long, and three or foure inches broad: it is an ancient *Ceremony*, for in old time, when they spake in a more familiar manner to the King, out of reverence they held something between, to keep their breath from coming to the Kings face, and also when they discoursed with him of many busineses, they carried the heads of them written thereon, that they might not forget them. But now that they speake to the King at such a distance, and not so long, this *Ceremonie* might be excused, if

if it were not, that they will keep up an old custome.

The Kings *Garments* differ not in fashion from those of the rest, but in the stuffe, which is very rich, and in certaine Dragons which are woven and embroydered in them, and no other Persons may weare them, but only the King, and those that are of kin to him; as the *Princes* of the *Bloud*, and particularly the women, and the *Eunuchs* of the Kings family, but with some distinction. The colour is yellow, not but that other colours may be worne in the Palace, for they weare light colours of all sorts, but yellow is so proper to the King, and to all that he wears, that none else may use it.

CHAP. 23.

How the Kings of China are Married.

AT that time, when there were severall Kings and Lords in *China*, they tooke one anothers daughters for *Wives*, as they do in *Europe*. But they being at an end, and the *Monarchy* reduced under one only Lord, and he being never to take a wife out of the Kingdom, it is necessary, that he marry a daughter of one of his subjects. Persons of *Quality* will not give him their daughters; for he being to see them, whether he likes them or no, and they being to be turned off, if they please him not, no person of any *Quality* will shew his daughter, because she may be refused, after she is seen; especially by reason that the sight and triall of them is to passe further then to what is seen in the outward frontispiece. They do not, nor may not marry with their kindred, though in never so remote a degree: and therefore there is sought through the whole Kingdom a Damsell of twelve or fourteen years of age, of a perfect beauty, of good naturall parts, and well inclined to those vertues, which are required in a *Queen*, in the same manner, as in ancient times the *Shunamite* was sought out for *David*, and *Esther* for *Ahasuerus*: and this is done without exception of persons: whence for the most part the *Queen* is the daughter of some *Artizan*.

When they have found out such a one, as they looked for, they consign her to two ancient Matrons, who see that which all may not see; and if they finde no displeasing marke, or deformity about her body, they make her runne to put her in a sweat, that they may examine, whether there be any unpleasing smell from it: when these Matrons are satisfied with the diligence they have used, she is brought to Court, with a great traine of women and men servants, and with an equipage becoming a person, who from hence forward doth appertaine to the King: to whom she is presented in his Palace, who after he hath ended his complements, he giveth her to the Prince for a wife: and this is afterwards the true *Queen*. Within the Palace, they appoynt to waite on her vertuous women, of prudence, and understanding, that they may instruct her, as well in vertue, as in complements, and the stile of the Palace, endeavouring to breed her in such manner, that she may deserve the name of a *Queen*, whom they commonly

commonly call *Que Mu*, that is, Mother of the Kingdom : And as their Histories relate, there have been many of these of great worth and merit. They are very commonly devoute and charitable; and many of them have been prudent and vertuous.

Such was one of them, who being the daughter of a Mason, after she came to be *Queen*, she kept always by her an Iron Trewell; and when the Prince her Sonne, upon any occasion, behaved himselfe more haughtily than became him, she sent to shew him that Instrument, with which his Grandfather used to lay stones for his living; by which means, she reduced him to his *Devoir*. In old times when Kings took it in good part to be reproved for their errours, King *Tu* had a *Cola*, who at the Royall Audience would tel him his faults without any indulgence: One day, whether the King had given more cause, or that the excesse was on the *Cola*s part, the Audience being ended, the King returned into the Palace very much offended, saying, He would cut off the head of that impertinent fellow. The *Queen* asked him the cause of his displeasure: the King answered, There is an unmannerly Clown, that never ceaseth to tel me of my faults, and that publickly, I am resolved to send one to take off his head. The *Queen* tooke no notice of it, but retired to her Appartment, and put on a particular garment proper only for feastivalls, and visits, and in this habit she came to the King, who wondring at it, asked her the cause of this Novelty. The *Queen* answered, Sir, I come to wish your Majesty much joy: Of what, replied the King. That you have a subject, said she, that feareth not to tell you your faults, to your face, seeing that a subjects confidence, in speaking so boldly, must needs be founded upon the opinion he hath of the vertue and greatnesse of his Princes minde, that can endure to hear him. There have been many other like to this *Queen*.

The kindred of the Maiden are presently exalted to honours and employments: The family is already accounted, rich and honourable; and by how much more the *Queen* gaineth favour within, they without are so much the more advanced.

The rest of the Kings Sonnes are married after the same manner: only they do not use so much diligence, and caution in finding out the bride, but for the most part she is sought for, and found in the Court it selfe. But the manner of marrying the daughters is very different. There are twelve young men sought out of the age of 17 or 18 years, the lustiest and the handsomest they can finde; these are brought into the Palace to a place, where the Princess may see them, and not be seen; and when she hath well considered them, she selecteth two of them: These are presented to the King, who chuseth which of them he liketh best, to be his Sonne-in-law.

Vamlie, the Grandfather of the present King, upon the like occasion, seeing one of the two young men presented to him, very well cloathed, and the other, though neat, yet poorly habited, asked him, what was the reason, he was not so well cloathed as the other. The youth answered, Sir, my father is poore, and cannot afford it me. Then replied the King, I will have you that are the poorest for my Sonne-in-law: and being thus chosen, he did afterward carry himselfe worthy of commendations. And truly

truly a youth ought not to be ashamed of his povertie, nor a King for having chosen a poore man. The rest are sent home againe, but are accounted *Noble* ever after, for having had the honour to be admitted to that election.

Presently two *Mandarines* of the most considerable in the Court, are appoynted for Tutours unto these *Fum Ma*, so they call the Kings Sonne-in-laws, to instruct them in learning, manners, and Courtly behaviour &c. He is obliged every day to make the foure ordinary reverences upon his knees to his wife, till she hath brought him a child, as soone as she is delivered, this obligation ceaseth, although there are still a great many other constraints, and inconveniences upon them, which is the reason, that no man of *Qualitie* will be the Kings Sonne-in-law. For this reason the usuall custome of chusing twelve is now left off, and if the King do earnestly invite any person of *Qualitie*, or *Litterato* of reputation, to be his Sonne-in-law, (as it hath sometimes fallen out) he excuseth himselfe with all the skill and friends he hath, for if the *Princesse* take a dislike against her husband (as it often happeneth) she gives him affliction enough for all his life.

CHAP. 24.

Of the Nobilitie of China.

THe *Nobilitie* of *China* at this day is much changed from what it was anciently, when, by reason there were many Kings and Sovereigne Lords, they matched into one anothers families, and the Kings themselves, made many noble men, whom they used to employ, as also their neereft kinsmen, in charges and governments of the greatest importance, and by this means their families continued on foot for many years. At this day the most of the *Nobilitie* have been raised by their learning, to the highest honours, from a low condition, many of them having been the Sonnes of *Artizans* and *Handicrafts-men*, as also, for want of learning, their families decline and grow againe into povertie, so that it is a rare thing to see a family last to the fift generation: for as the first beginners, being forced by necessitie, and stirred up by a desire to advance themselves, study and take paines to obtaine their degrees, and consequently Governments and other Preheminences; So the rest, who follow, and are borne rich, and bred up in delights, and wantonnesse, suffer themselves to be carried away with the pleasures of living high, and the vices which accompany it, study little, and spend much, so that in a short time, they finde themselves reduced to the first condition of their Ancestours. Notwithstanding, there is some shadow and resemblance left of the ancient *Nobilitie*, and it may be reduced to five orders, not mentioning those common people, who are of no account.

The first *Nobilitie* is of the King, Prince, the Kings Children, and the Royall family, which is preserved in this manner. The Prince succeedeth his father in manner above-said,

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To his *Younger Sonnes* the King assigneth a habitation, out of the Court, in such a Province or City as shall seem best to him, with *Palaces*, Furniture, and Servants suitable to his high qualitie, and lands and revenues, which he purchaseth for him in the same place; as also a competent pension out of the Kings exchequer.

He that dwelt in the Province of *Xensi*, where I lived, for sometime, had, as I was informed, 360000 Crownes *per annum*, and the title of a King conferred on him; and all the Officers of the Province were obliged to pay him respect suitable to his Title: whence every first and fifteenth day of the Moone they went to do him reverence in like manner, as is done at Court to the King; there being nothing wanting to him to make him an absolute King, but only Authority and Jurisdiction, of which he had nothing at all, neither over the people, nor in the government; the King reserving all that to himselfe; neither hath he libertie to go out of the City and Territorie, where he hath his residence.

The *Eldest Sonne* succeedeth his Father in his estate and goods; the rest marry and make severall Families, which stil grow lesser, although they be great; and the King giveth them an allowance competent for them; and as they are removed still to a further degree from the Kings blood, so likewise their pension diminisheth, till it cometh to fourescore Crowns a yeare, and there it stoppeth; there being none so remote from the *Royall Stemme*, that hath not, at the least, this Revenue. Yet neverthelesse, all this is to be understood only, if those that are descended from him, have certaine conditions, that are required of them; for if these be wanting, they have nothing given them at all.

The *First condition* is, that they be Males; for if they be *Females*, there is no account made of them, and the Father marrieth them to whom, and when he will; but not to Princes of the blood; (neither may the Sonnes marry, but with Women of other Families) and he is to marry them at his own expences.

The *Second condition* is, that the Sonne be *lawfully begotten* on the true wife; not only bastards being excluded, but also the Sonnes of their concubines, if they have any.

The *Third* is, that as soon as his Sonne is borne, he do give a memorial to the King, to give him a name, which is to be registred in the roll.

The *Fourth* is, that having attained the age of 14 yeares, he give another memoriall to the King, praying him to give order, that he may receive halfe his pension, which he after receiveth every year at set times.

The *Fifth*, that when he cometh to age to be married, there be another memoriall given to the King, wherein is required leave for him to marry, and then he receiveth the whole pension which is assigned him.

These are the *Princes of the Blood*, descended from the King by a right *male line*. These are not to live in the two Courts of *Pekim* and *Nankim*, nor in all the Provinces indifferently, but only in some certaine places; and are so numerous, that they are beleev'd to amount to 60000, and are all maintained by the King. But they have this advantage, that they may help themselves by their industrie, in buying and selling, and playing the Merchants.

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For the government of them, and to present their memorialls to the King; to decide their controversies, and to punish them, if there be cause, they have a particular *Mandarine*, that is proper to them. But if they have any suits with others, who are not of the bloud Royall, such causes are under the cognizance of the ordinary justice, who may reprove them, but hath not the power to punish them; but if any of them commit any notable disorder, he giveth notice thereof to the King, who for such occasions hath a Castle in the Province of *Kiamsi*, encompassed with a very high wall, whither he confineth them during life.

The *Second Order of Nobilitie* is of the *Titulati*, or Noblemen that have Titles conferred upon them: who notwithstanding are but the shadow of what they were in former times. These are divided into foure orders. The *First* they call *Quecum*, a new Title, and are only foure Families, who were raised by the King *Humou*, and are descended from foure valiant Captaines, who served the said King against the *Tartars*. They are, as it were, Dukes and Captaines-Generall of the *Militia*, and do assist in that *Qualitie*, at certaine military actions of great importance, when they are done in the Cities where they inhabit; but they never go to the war. The *Second* are *Hens*. The *Third* *Pe*. The *Fourth* *Chi Ho Ei*, all ancient Titles. They have Offices in the *Militia*, and a competent revenue, and all of them succeed their Fathers in their power, authority, and command. They give place to many Officers of the *Litterati*: but, at an assembly in the Royall Hall, they precede all of them.

The *Third Order* containeth all them, who either have or doe administer in the Government of the Kingdome, whether they be officers of warre, as *Generalls* or *Captaines*, or of the *Politick* and *Civill Government*; whether they be supream, such as are the *Colai*, or inferiour Ministers; as well the *Mandarines* of other Cities, as those of the Court, even to those of the smallest Burghs and Villages: neither are they excluded from this order, who neither Govern, nor have governed, but are in Election to be received into the Government; such are all *Graduates*, as *Doctours*, *Licentiates* and *Batchelours*. In a word, this order consisteth of *Litterati*.

The *Fourth* is of *Students*, who, although they have never taken any degree, yet only for being *Students*, and that they are in a way to obtain them, are put into the rank of the *Nobilitie*, and treated as such, although they have no priviledge or authoritie.

The *Fifth* is of those Persons, whom they call *Netti*, or cleanly men, who live either of their Rents or Merchandize: and when their wealth is much, their honour is not little: and although without learning their power and credit is not so great as among us; yet they are much respected by the people.

CHAP. 25.

Of the Government of China, and of the Officers.

THE principall Government of *China*, which embraceth the state of the whole *Monarchie* is divided into six *Councils*, called by them *Pú*. These do not only governe in the two Courts where they do reside, but from these, as from the first movers, the rest of the government dependeth: and to these persons, causes, and matters, according as appertaineth unto each, all is subordinate, with an incredible dependance and obedience.

Every one of these *Councils* hath its *President*, whom they call *Cham Xu*, with two *Assistants*, one of the left hand, who is the first, called *Co Xi Lam*, the other of the Right, named *Gen Xi Lam*. These are the chiefeft and most profitable offices of the whole Kingdom, except the *Colai*, of whom we will speak hereafter: so that when a *Vice-roy* of any Province, even of the most principall, after he hath given good Testimonie of his abilitie, is to be preferred, he holdeth himself well provided for, not only if he be made *President* of one of these *Councils*, but also if he come to be one of the *Assessours* or *Assistants*, either of the left hand, or the right.

Besides these, who are the chiefeft of the *Council*, there are ten others of the same *Tribunall*, almost all equall in dignitie, who are distributed into severall offices and employments. To these are added other great and lesser officers, as *Notaries*, *Scribes*, *Secretaries*, *Ministers*, *Captaines of Justice*, and many others, who are not usuall among us in *Europe*.

The *First* and chiefeft *Council*, which is of the greatest authoritie and profit, is the *Council of State*, called *Si Pu*. To them it belongeth to propose the Mandates of the whole Kingdome, concerning Officers, to change and promote them: for after any one hath been once provided of an Office, he alwaies riseth by degrees to greater employments: nor are they ever excluded from the Government, unlesse it be for some notable fault committed either by themselves, or by such as appertaine to them, as their Sons, neere kindred, and the like. To this *Tribunall* also belongeth the power to restore againe any that is turned out of his office: as, if a *Mandarine*, by some accident, lose his office, they can easily put him in again: and upon this account they have very many, and very great bribes given them.

The *Second* is the *Council of Warre*, called *Pim Pú*. This also, as well as the *Council of State*, hath authoritie over all the Magistrates of the *Literati*, as also over the officers of warre, and taketh cognizance of all affaires belonging to the *Militia*, and is of great profit.

The *Third* is the *Council of Rites*, named *Lim Pú*. This, although it hath not so great command, nor bringeth so much profit, is notwithstanding more considerable, because the *Mandarines* thereof are of the *Royall Colledge*, and are from hence preferred to be *Colai*, which is the chiefeft dignity

dignitie in *China*. To this *Colledge* doth appertaine all affaires concerning *Letters, Temples, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, the Bonzi, Strangers, Embassadors,* and such like things.

The *fourth* is the *Councell of the Kings Patrimony*, called *Hu Pù*, it taketh care of the Kings Revenues, Taxes, Impositions, Gabells, Excise, Tribute, and generally whatsoever concerneth the Kings *Domaine*.

The *fift* is called *Cum Pù*, it is super-intendent over all publick works, particularly the Kings buildings, as those of the *Palaces* that are made for the Kings children, for the Officers; over Walls, Gates, Bridges, Cawsewaies, cleansing of Rivers, and whatsoever belongeth to the Ships and Barks, as well for the service of the King and the publique, as for the Armadoes,

The *sixt* hath the care of all Criminall matters, and to inflict punishments: it is called *Him Pù*, and is Judge of the highest Criminall matters, and other things appertaining thereto.

Besides these *six Councells*, which are the most principall of the Court, there are other *nine Tribunalls*, called *Kich Kim*, with severall offices which do particularly belong to the Kings household.

The *first* is called *Thai Lisu*, as one would say, *The great reason*; it is, as it were, the great Chancery of the Kingdom. They examine, as being the last appeale, the judgements and sentences of the Tribunalls of the Court; and thither are brought all facts of great moment. It consisteth of thirteen *Mandarines*, that is, one *President*, two *Collaterals*, and ten *Counsellours*.

The *second* is called *Quan Lo Sn*, and is as it were, *High Steward* of the Kings household, to whose charge it belongeth to provide the diet, for the King, the Queen, the Ladies, the Eunuchs, and to have the laying out of the whole expence of the *Palace*; to pay the *Salaries* to the Officers of the Court, and to all those that come thither upon publick businesse; to Embassadors, which come from other Countries, and other such like Persons. It hath a *President*, two *Assessors*, and seven *Counsellours*.

The *third* is *Thai Po Cu Su*, and is, as it were, *Chiefe Master of the horse* to the King, and they have not only the charge of all Horses for the Kings service, but of all that belong to the Posts, and generally of all others, which belong to the publick service of the Kingdom. It hath a *President*, and seven *Counsellours*.

The *fourth* is, as it were, *Master of the Ceremonies and complements of the Court*. It belongeth to them to assist at all the *Ceremonies* of the publick Actions of the King, at feastivalls, and other times and occasions which present themselves, and also at the daily *Ceremonies*, which are performed in the *Palace*, by those that come in, or out, as is abovesaid. It hath a *President*, two *Assessors*, and seven *Counsellours*.

The *fift* is of *Rites* in more particular matters, and in that it is different from the first, but it hath the same forme with its *Assessors*. It taketh care of the sacrifices, of the Royall sepulchres, of Mountaines, Groves, and all that belong to them, as Singers, Instruments, living creatures for sacrifice, &c.

Moreover, *China* hath another *Tribunall*, which hath only charge of the *Memorials*, which are presented to the King, and is, as it were, a *Chancery* of

of Requests; so that such petitions, as are not approved of by them, are never given the King. This *Tribunall* was the occasion, in the time of the persecution of the Christians 1616, that when we would have given an account of the law, which we preached, and of the things which were imputed to us, our *Memoriall* could never passe, it being still rejected by them.

There are other three in the same form, with severall charges & offices. Beside the abovesaid *Tribunalls*, there are two more, one called *Quoli*, the other *Tauli*: these, although they have their eye upon severall Provinces, each upon those matters which appertain to them, neverthelesse their proper occupation and principall office is, to take notice of the errors and disorders of the Kingdom, and to advertise the King of his own failings, if he hath any, as also of the faults of the *Mandarines* and their Government: and as it was never hard for any to tell the faults of others, yet these have a particular Talent in it, and doe it with great liberty, though many times with little Justice.

Their manner is to frame a *Memoriall*, and present it to the King (for those of these two *Tribunalls* do not passe through the Chancery of *Memorials*) and then presently, (as they call it, *Fà'C Heo* that is,) to transcribe it, and so to send a copy of it to the Notaries, whereof there are many destined for this worke. These write many copies of it, which are sent by the next posts, from the Court to be dispersed through the whole Kingdom: and by this means it is presently known every where, by whom, and against whom, this *Memoriall* is presented, & the misdeeds contained therein, of what qualitie soever they be. As soone as this *Memoriall*, which they call *Puen*, is published, presently the Magistrate, or other person, against whom it is framed, is obliged to do *two things*, whether it be with, or against his will, (which is more ordinary.) The *first* is, that he give in a *Memoriall*, not in his own defence, (for to excuse himself were to shew little humility,) but he must say therein, that the *Tauli* hath great reason; that he hath committed a great error, and is in fault, and doth deserve to have a penance laid upon him, and that with all subjection, he will submit to any punishment, that shall be imposed. The *second* is, that he presently retire himselfe, and leave the *Tribunal*, and so all Acts of Justice are suspended, so that he neither giveth audience, nor endeth any suite, untill the King have answered his petition, and declared his pleasure thereon; the which is sometimes in his favour, and then he continueth his office; and sometimes against him, more or lesse, according to the quality of his fault. There is no doubt, if this way were executed with reason and good conscience, but that it would be much in favour of Justice, and the good Government of the Common-wealth; as on the contrary side, it is an open gate to many causelesse troubles and disgraces. It falleth out many times, that a *Mandarine* in performing his office, and acquitting himselfe of the duty of his place, doth make himselfe many enemies. Some one of these, if he be a person that hath interest with any that is an Officer of those *two Tribunals*, as kinsman, friend, &c. he giveth account of it to the Court, the *Memoriall* flyeth abroad, and God help the poore *Mandarine*. When they are lesser *Mandarines*, as *Judges*, *Assistants to Governours*,
or

or *Mandarines in Armes*; at one blow, they lay him flat on the ground. If they be great *Mandarines*, there is more difficulty: but if they know, how to finde a hole in their coates, and the *Tauli* and *Quoli* get him in their clawes, they never give them over, till they have un-horsed them, so that the King himselfe is hardly able to save them.

The like accident happened to that Tyrant *Xin*, who in the year 1626 (being *Xi cam* in *Nankim*) raised a persecution against the Christians, and caused the fathers to be banished, as shall be related in its proper place. He arrived afterwards to the dignity of a *Colao*; and caused foure ensignes to be hanged out at the 4 corners of his *Palace*, (I was then present in the same City that is in *Hancheu*) and made other demonstrations of extraordinary joy. But whether it were, that the Lord would chastise him for the persecutions he raised against his elect, or whether he deserved punishment for any other particular crimes according to humane laws, or for both together, assoone as his orders were come, and before he was departed to go to Court, there was so terrible a *Memoriall* put in against him, that a *Christian Mandarin* told me, it would not be possible for him to hold up his head: and so he was presently glad to take in his *Standard*, and depart with ordinary *Ceremonies*. He was notwithstanding a politike crafty man, and had purchased with his mony in the *Palace*, the good will both of the *Ladies* and the *Eunuchs*, who are not wont to sell their favours at a low rate. These did not only cause a *Memoriall* to be dispatched in his favour, but used means for him to be sent for to Court. At length he went, but after a few months there was another *Memoriall* given in against him, and after that severall others, to the number of twenty seven; and the crimes laid to his charge were such, that the King could not help him, so that he was forced to quit his Government, and retire to his house.

Beside these two *Tribunals*, there is another which is superiour to all the rest, and is the supream dignity of the Kingdom; to which none do arrive, but those of the *Royall Colledge*, called *Han Lin*, after they have Governed a long time, and given such testimony of their *abilitie* and *integritie*, that never any *Memoriall* was given in against them. They are called by the name of *Colao*, they are commonly but foure, and may never exceed the number of six.

The old King (Grandfather to him that reigneth at present) never made but one of them at a time; saying, That more were superfluous. These have no particular office, but have an eye over the Government of the whole Kingdome. We may not unfitly call them the *supream Presidents* of all the *Counsellors*, and of the whole Government, although they are never present at them, but assist the King at all dispatches of affaires; and now that the King doth not use to be present there himselfe, they alwayes assist in the *Palace*, to receive and answer all businesse, and the *Memorialls*, which are every day given in. These report them to the King, who pronounceth the last sentence upon them. These *Colai* are very much respected by all the *Magistrates*, and at set times they do them reverence as to their superiours, in a publick Hall. The *Colai* stand up, and all the Officers of the Court passe before them in their order; and when they come right over against them, they turne towards them, and make them a profound

Reverence

Reverence to the very ground. They call this Ceremony *Quo Tham*, that is, To passe the Hall. Their ensignes, or badges of honour, are different from those of the rest, and their girdle, which they call *Tu Xe*, is richly set with precious stones. They only are allowed to weare it, and it is given them by the King, as in *Europe* Kings doe use to give *Collars* of their orders to their knights. And when they are sick, it is only to these, that the King sendeth to visit them with *Regales* and dainties from the *Palace*, and they do sufficiently gratifie the *Eunuch* that brings them, for the least they give him is fifty crownes, which is more in that Country, than 200 here.

Beside these supream and generall Governours at the Court, who do not only govern that, but the whole Kingdom also, there are likewise particular and ordinary Governours and Judges of every City, and these observe the same manner of Government as well in the Cities and Townes of the other Provinces, as also in those of *Pekin* and *Nankim*, where the two Courts are, as shall be related hereafter.

CHAP. 26,

Of the Government of the thirteen Provinces.

WE have formerly spoken of the universall Government of the whole Kingdome, which resideth in the two Courts, it followeth now, that we should speak of the particular Government of the Provinces, every one whereof is a large Kingdom. This Government resideth ordinarily in the *Metropolis* or chiefe City of each Province. In each of these there are five *Tribunalls*, that have a generall command over the whole Province, and distinct offices among themselves. Of these five, two are supream, to which all others, both of the Cities and Townes, are subordinate: But they among themselves are not subjected one to the other, but are immediatly subordinate to the King and the *Royall Tribunalls*. These consist of one *President*, or Iudge, without any Assistant or Councellour, although they have many other Officers.

The first of these two is the *Vice-roy* of the Province, whom they call *Tut Ham*, or *Kiun Muen*. He hath power over all the Magistrates, and people of the Province. He Governeth for three years, and hath constant Posts that come & go from the Court at set times, being to give account of whatsoever passeth in the Province. He is received into the City in great pompe and state. When he is ready to depart the Court, many of the Officers of his *Tribunal* go thither, to receive him, others meet him a good part of the way, where from City to City he is honourably accompanied both by horse and foot: And three miles before he cometh to the City, where he is to reside, there go out certaine Captaines with 3000 Souldiers to receive him, after these follow the Magistrates, and after them an innumerable company of people.

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The *Second Office*, which is also absolute, is called *Cha Fuen*, we have no Office in *Europe*, that is answerable to it: he is, as it were, *Visiteur* of the *Province*. It lasteth only a yeare, it is of great rigour and much feared. He hath authority to take *Cognizans* of all causes both *Criminall* and *civill*, of the *Militia*, of the *Kings Patrimoine*, in a word, of all. He visiteth, enquireth, and informeth himself of all, even to the *Vice-roy* himself: the inferiour *Mandarines* and Judges he may punish, or turne them out of their places. Concerning the greater *Mandarines*, if there be cause, he is to give in *Memorials*, and they are from thence forward suspended from the function of their Offices, till the Kings answer come from Court.

To him it belongeth to cause the sentences of Death, given through the whole *Province*, to be put in execution, in order to which he assigneth the day and the City, whither all those that are condemned, shall be brought to him: and there he is presented with a List of their names; then taking his pensill, he marketh six or seaven of them, (for if he prick more they count him cruell) these are presently carried to execution, and the rest returned to the prisons whence they came. It belongeth also to him to visit the Wals, Castles, and publick places &c. He setteth forth with a great traine and pomp, having banners carried before him and other Ensignes of Rigour and Majestie. This is usually every year.

There is another extraordinarie Officer of the same name. He is created from time to time at the Queens request: he hath great power and authoritie, but it is only in favour of Piety and Mercy: he visiteth all the Prisons of the *Province*, and freeth all such as are imprisoned for light faults, and that have no prosecutours, and all those miserable wretches; that have no meanes to free themselves: he taketh into protection such causes as have been rejected, and parties that could obtaine no favour: he revoketh such sentences, as have been unjustly given: he maketh himselfe Protector of the poore, and in a word, his whole authoritie is employed about works of mercy.

The *Third Office* is the *Treasurer*, who is superintendent of the Kings Patrimoine through the whole *Province*. He is subordinate to the Councell of the Patrimoine at Court. He hath two *Assistants*, one of the right hand, and the other of the left: each of these have their house and *Tribunall* within the circuit of the *Treasurers Palace*. He hath under him 26 lesser *Mandarines*, that have severall charges and employments, besides other Officers great and small, of which sort there are very many belonging to this *Tribunall*.

To him it belongeth to overlooke the customes, excise, and other duties appertaining to the King, of what kind soever: to regulate all weights and measures, all suites, controversies, punishments and sentences appertaining to the Kings Patrimoine, or at least to remit them to what *Tribunall* he pleaseth: to pay the ordinarie salaries, to all Magistrates, to the Kings kindred, to the Captaines and Souldiers: to provide all expences for the examinations: to furnish and give the badges of honour to all Graduates: to lay out money for the publick workes, as Bridges, Highways, *Palaces* of the *Mandarines*, Ships for the Navy &c. In a word, he is superintendent of whatsoever is spent or received of the Kings

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Revenue

Revenue immediatly from the Governours, Iudges and *Tauli*, each for his own precinct; and though the summe be never so small, they must alwayes be paid in fine Silver, which is afterwards melted by the *Treasurer* into *Ingots*, weighing fifty Crownes a piece, with the Kings stamp and the Founders name upon them, that in case any of them be falsified, they might know whom to accuse; and in this forme they are returned into the Kings Exchequer.

The Revenue of the *Province* is divided into three parts: one whereof is put into the Treasure of the City, for extraordinary expenses; the other into the Coffers of the *Treasurer*, for to defray ordinarie expences. This *Treasurie*, beside that the doores and locks are made as secure as can be, yet it is guarded every night by a constant watch of Souldiers. The third is sent publickely to Court, but with a strong Guard.

This Silver is put into round pieces of wood, sawed through in the middle and hollowed within, and joyned together with Iron hoops and both ends closed fast with plates of Iron. Within every one of these pieces of wood is conveighed as much Silver as two men are able to carrie. The revenue of the whole Kingdome (according to the supputation of Father *Matteo Riccius*, who lived many yeares in *China*, as appeareth by his book printed in the year 1621) is said to amount to an hundred and fifty Millions of Crownes. Father *John Rodriquez*, who also travailed much about *China*, and was very curious to know the affaires of this Kingdome, in a writing which he left behind him concerning the foure notable things of *China*, saith; That it doth amount but to fifty five Millions. To make them both agree, my opinion is, that the whole Revenue is a hundred and fifty Millions, as *Father Riccius* said; & that which is brought to Court is but fifty five, as *Father Rodriquez* would have it, the rest remaining, as hath been said, in the *Provinces*. As I have not made any diligent enquiry concerning this matter, so I will forbear to add any thing to the Testimonie of these grave *Personages*.

The *Fourth Tribunal* is called *Gan Cha Sci*, and is, as it were, a *Tribunal Criminal*; it hath *Assessours*, *Councillours*, and *Tauli*. And, as every *Province* is divided into Shires, and Precincts, according to the number of the Cities thereof, it belongeth to these *Tauli* to visit them, and to do justice in the severall places assigned them; punishing Malefactours, and exercising their jurisdiction, which extendeth it selfe even to the Souldierie, and the affaires of the Sea, if the *Province* be maritime.

The *Fifth Tribunall* is over learning and letters, to examine, and confer degrees, and the like, and is particularly set over all them that have taken the degree of *Batcheller*; but *Doctors* are exempt from their *Jurisdiction*. There is a *Chancellour* over the whole *Province*, who, at set times, visiteth all the Cities and Townes, holding examinations, and informing himself of every ones behaviour; and according as he findeth it, he reproveth, chastiseth, and sometimes depriveth them of their degree, but leaving them alwayes the libertie, as I have said, of returning, (if they please,) to a new examination.

There are moreover in every City two, whom they call *Mandarines* of the *Sciences*, *Hioquan*; who belong to the same *Tribunall*: but their *Jurisdiction* doth not extend it self further than to the *Batchellers* of the same City,

City, and the territorie thereof. And although they have not the power to conferre a degree, or to take it away, but only to punish them; nevertheless it is they that give them the most trouble, by reason, that living alwayes in the same City, they often call them before them, examine them, &c. They are, as it were, Prefects of the Classes.

All these offices whereof I have spoken, have authoritie over the whole Province, and over all the Cities, Villages and Townes thereof.

But the Cities have moreover their particular Government, as among us in Europe. In every City there are foure principall *Mandarines*, one whereof is President, whom they call *Chi Fu*, and is, as it were, Governour of the City: the rest are Collateralls, they are called *Thum Chi*, *Thum Phuon*, *Chi Quon*. Every one of these holdeth his *Tribunal* apart, and hath greater and lesser officers belonging to him.

Beside these, every City hath nineteen lesser Magistrates employed in severall Offices subordinate to the principall. Two whereof have a President and foure Councillours, the nine others have only one President and an Assistant, and the other eight have only one President, but they have all of them their Officers, Ministers, and a convenient number of Servants belonging to their Courts.

The Villages have a Judge and three Councillours. The Judge is called *Chi Hien*. The First Councillour *Hum Chim*. The Second *Chi Phu*. The Third *Tan Su*. They have each of them their *Palaces* and *Tribunals* apart, as also their subordinate Officers, Notaries and others. The Judge may give sentence of death, but cannot put it in execution.

Besides these *Mandarines*, which reside in the Cities and Villages, there are others who have not the power either to Chastise or condemn, but only to make their report, and are, as it were, *Referendaries*. There are also of them in Castles, if they be great, and farre from any City or Village: these are made ordinarily out of the inferiour Notaries of *Tribunals*, for out of the great ones are commonly made the Councillours to the Judges of Villages.

But it must be observed, that both the greater and the lesser officers have not so much authoritie, as ours in Europe. Besides, every Hamlet (whereof there are almost Infinite in China, no labourer, or husbandman dwelling either in City or Village, but in the Fields) hath a Head or Thithing-man called *Licham*. The houses are divided by tens, like Tithings or *Decuries*, with a Head or Tithing-man belonging to each, by which meanes the Government becometh more easie, and the contribution which is exacted, more certaine.

CHAP. 27.

Of the Badges of Honour, or Ensignes of the Mandarin.

ALL Officers, who either have, or have had command, have their Ensigns, by which they are distinguished, not only from the people, but from others, as well *Litterati*, as Noblemen of another rank. These consist in five things, that is, the *Cap*, the *Habit*, the *Girdle*, the *Boots*, and the *Gown*. The *Cap* is of black Silk, lined with a certaine stiffe & strong Stuffle. They all of them have it made after the same fashion, only in the *Caps* of the *Colai* there is some difference, it is called in the *Chinesse* language *Xamao*.

The *Habit*, (for so they call it, and we have nothing in *Europe* that answereth to it,) is a square piece, which they wear on their breast, richly embroydered round about, in the middle wherof is the device of their Office and dignitie; and, as those are diverse, accordingly their devices are different. It is called *Phi Xu*. The *Magistrates* of letters have an *Eagle*, a *Hearn*, a *Bird of the Sunne*, or such like: the *Magistrates* of armes, have a *Panther*, a *Tiger*, an *Unicorn*, a *Lyon* &c.

The *Girdle*, which is not made to Gird them withall, for it is so wide, that they are faine to fasten it at the sides, to keep it from falling, is called *Quon Thai*; it is foure fingers broad, and divided into little squares; it is fastened before (if the *Girdle* be rich) with large Buckles of Gold or Silver: some weare them nine inches broad. There are nine sorts of Buckels, that is, of *Bufalo*, of *Rhinoceros* horne, of *Ivory*, of *Tortoise* shell, of *Lignum Aquila*, of *Calamba*, of Silver, Gold, and precious stones. Every one may not wear them indifferently according to their Fancies, but suitable to the qualitie of the Office which he beareth. The last *Girdle*, which is of a precious stone, called *Tu Xe*, is given by the King himselfe to the *Colai*, when they enter into their Office, nor is any other suffered to weare it.

The *Boots*, (which they call *Hive*,) are not ordinarie, but of a certaine particular make. They are all black, and turned down.

The *Vest*, or *Gowne*, is worne over their ordinary habit, and is in all, of the same fashion. It is large, loose, and very becoming. The colour is at their own choise, but for the most part it is modest: but on Feastivall daies it is Crimfon.

These are the Ensignes of the *Magistrates*, when ever they appear in publick: for at home they leave them off, and wear only the ordinarie habit of the *Litterati*: and in the same manner they go among their friends to Banquets, and places of recreation, especially in hot weather. Their externall Ensignes, when they go abroad, are the Sedan, or Litter, inlaid with Ivory, and richly gilded, all open, without any cover at top, to the end they may be the better seen. There are some of them carried by two men, others by foure, others by six, and some by eight, according to the qualitie of the *Mandarine*. When there are six or eight men, only foure do carry the Sedan, the others go by on each side, and take

take their turnes. The traine which followeth after them is more or lesse according to the dignitie of the *Magistrate*: those of the greatest *Qualitie* cause two men to march before them at a great distance, with a round staffe in the hands of each, of something more than a mans length, only for terrour (for the king only may strike with a round staffe) and all the way they go, they make a cry. Then follow two men bearing two Tablets silvered over, whereon is written in great letters the Title of his dignitie, then come foure or six more, trayling after them cudgells made of a great tree called *Bambu*, wherewith they are wont in those Countries to give the *Bastinado* to Delinquents; then follow others with chaines in their hands, and other instruments of Torture. A little before the Sedan there marcheth one with an *Umbrella*, or Sun-screens, and sometimes two; they are made of silke, and are as bigge as three of ours. Close by the Sedan on one side, is carried a great gilded fanne, so bigge that a man is hardly able to beare it, with which the Sun is kept off from him, for the *Umbrellas* serve only for shew and *Parade*. Immediately before the Sedan is carried the Kings seale in a gilded Coffer, placed upon a *Machine*, (like to that which we use in our Countries, to carry the Images, and Reliques of Saints upon in procession) under a cloath of state borne up with foure small pillars. This is carried by two men. Behind the Sedan follow the Pages, and other people, both on horse and foot.

When he goeth through the street, if there be any thing unseemly at the windowes, as cloathes hanged out a drying, or such like things, presently they are taken in: if they meet with any Beers, or Hearses, such as the dead are carried to buriall withall, they overturne them to the ground: people of *Qualitie* turne downe some other street to avoyd meeting of them: they that are on horse back alight: they that are carried in chaires are set downe, & the people set themselves in ranke on both sides the way. If it be a great *Mandarine*, the multitude that stand looking upon him, keep a profound silence. In the meane while he sitteth in his chaire with so much gravity and composure of body, that he doth not so much as move his eyes: for to but looke on one side or other would in them be esteemed a notable fault.

When they make their first entrie into any City or Towne, besides the traine which is appoynted to accompany them, all the way they go, and the Souldiers which guard them, through the Townes and Cities where they passe, and the Officers of their owne *Tribunal*, who go many daies journeyes off to receive them, and the Souldiers of his owne Government, who go out many miles to meet them, and all the inferiour *Mandarines*, who go out of the City to congratulate them; at the gates of the Towne or City, stand all the old men of that place in great number, with their reverend white beards, who on their knees bid him welcome in the name of the people.

The Mothers and wives of the Officers, as their Sonnes or Husbands are preferred and advanced to higher offices and dignities, are appointed by the King certaine honourable distinctions in their habit, as also Titles, whereby they are called; such as are among us, your Honour, and your Excellency; not, that they are the same, but that they have some resemblance more or lesse.

When

When any one of the most Eminent Officers die, the King sendeth away post a *Mandarine* of the Court to solemnize his funeralls, and this not only to the confines of the Kingdom, but even out of it, as to the Island of *Hainam*, as it happened in the year 1617 at what time I spake with him who was sent hether by the King, only for that purpose,

The King also, after his death, bestoweth the office of a *Mandarine* upon his Sonne, or Nephew: and if the deceased person be a *Colao*, he bestoweth the like honour upon all his Sonnes or Nephewes, who, if they give a good Testimony of their abilitie in their Government, are advanced yet higher, and come to be Governours of Cities.

The *Palaces* where they inhabit are large, convenient, and stately, their *Tribunals*, where they do Justice, are magnificently adorned, and attended by great store of Officers. In the City of *Nankim*, beside many others, there are five *Tribunals*, foure of the foure windes, for so they call them, and they are accordingly placed in the City toward the *North*, toward the *South*, &c. The fift is in the middle of the City: yet are they inferiour *Tribunals*, for every one hath a *President* and two *Collaterals*, and the *President* is no more than a *Doctour*, and the two *Collaterals* are either simple *Batchelers*, or else raised from the office of *Notarie*. It is true that in small and ordinary causes, these are the hands and feet of the *Mandarines*, being faithfull and diligent executers of whatsoever they command them. There are in every one of these *Tribunals* more than 300 men, who serve them, as *Notaries*, *Clerks*, and *Serjeants*, some to apprehend men, others to whip them, others to carry letters and writings, and such other *Commissions*; but they do not serve all at one time, but take their turnes in order.

Now that I have treated of the small *Tribunals*, I will speak of a great one, which is that of the *Vice-roy* of *Cantone*, which, for some causes, I had occasion to observe very distinctly, as also many others. The *Tribunal*, wherein the *Vice-roy* doth Justice, is joyned to the *Palace*, where he hath his residence.

There is first a great square Court, which looketh toward the South, without having any gate in the wall right before it, but only two at the two sides thereof. At the foure Corners of this Court there are foure very high Masts, on the top of each is displayed a white banner, whereon are written two letters so bigge, that they almost take up the whole flagge. The letters are *Kiun Muen*, that is, *Vice-roy*. Within, round about the Court, are Chambers for the *Notaries*, for great and lesser Officers, and many small *Mandarines*, who are to be alwayes ready at the *Vice-roys* beck. In the middle of the Court is a Theater of stone, with steps to ascend to it. There stand drums, flutes fifes and Cornets of Brasse: and before the *Vice-King* giveth audience, all these instruments are sounded with certain pauses or Intervalls. They are sounded three times for some space, and at the end of each, there are three *Bombards*, or old fashion'd Cannon, discharged; at the third and last time the gates are opened, & all they, who have any businesse with him, are permitted to enter into the first Court.

On the North side whereof, which answereth to the front, where there is no Gate, there is, a great *Portal*, which leadeth into another quadrangular

lar Court, which is longer than it is broad. This *Portall* hath three gates in it, after the fashion of our churches: that in the middle is the biggest, the other two are lesser: each of these gates openeth upon an entry, which is raised three or foure palmes from the ground, and is seaven or eight palmes broad, but that in the middle is larger. At each entry stand two ranks of Souldiers with their armes in their hands: through the middle of whom those that have businesse are to passe, entring at the left gate, and coming out at the right; for at the middle gate, none either go in, or come out, but the *Vice-roy*, and they that visit or accompany him. At the end of this Court is the place of the *Vice-roy*, which hath neither Hall, nor Gallery, but is a kind of building, that participateth of both. It is like a Hall for its forme, and like a Gallery, in that it hath no doore, but lyes all open. In it standeth a small Table covered with a Carpet of silke, whereupon lyeth the Kings seale, with red and black inke by it, and stones for to grind it small, and penfills for to write withall; but above all, there is the Case of the *Chen Cu*, that is, Little Tallies of wood, each of which importeth *five lashes*: so that when the *Vice-roy* throweth downe two of them, in the languages of Justice, it signifieth *Ten lashes*; if he throweth downe six, Thirty, and so of the rest. Neere unto the seat of the *Vice-roy* on each hand stand twelve Captaines richly cloathed, with their *Morions* on their heads, and their Scimitars by their sides. Behinde, stand two Pages with fannes in their hands to make winde, in case the weather be hot; but in winter they do not use them. All *Tribunals* are not of this forme; although there are many things common to them all, and the rest is proportionable to the dignity of the *Mandarines* who hold them.

CHAP. 28.

*Of the prisons, sentences and punishments
of the Chineses.*

THEIR prisons for Malefactours are more commodious and spacious than ours. They are all, throughout the Kingdom, of the same forme, with very little difference; so that by treating of one, we shall give a description of them all. They are for the most part either joyned, or not farre distant from the *Palaces* and *Tribunals* of the *Mandarines*, to which they belong. They have no grates towards the street, but within the outward gate there is a narrow entry, which leadeth to a second gate, within which is a Court, which is alwaies bigger or lesser according to the receipt and concourse of the prison. Then followeth a third gate, where the lodgings of the keepers and warders are, who are commonly three; beyond that is another gate, which openeth into a great square Court, along the foure sides whereof are the chambers of the prisoners, which have no walls towards the Court, but in stead thereof, Columnes of wood placed so neere together, that they rather seeme to be grates. The doores are not made of board, but of grates of the same wood, so that all is open to the
ayre:

ayre: these Lodges or Chambers, are the Prisons of the ordinary Prisoners. At the end of one of these rowes of chambers, standeth the secret, or close Prison, for such as are committed for crimes of a higher nature. This they call *Chum Kien*, that is, the heavy Prison: so that having passed through the common Prison, there are other grates made in the like manner as the first, within which are the close Prisons, where the most criminal Persons are, who are alwayes kept locked up: the other Prisons are opened every day, and the Prisoners have liberty to go from one chamber to another, and to converse together in the Base-Courts.

Every evening there is a view taken of the Prisoners, causing them all, for this purpose, to come into the outward Court, and one of the warders with a rol in his hand calleth them over one by one: each man as he is called, goeth into his prison, where he is locked up for that night.

Those of the close Prison, although they go not out of it, (which happeneth only to those, who have no money, for if they have wherewithall to fee the Gaolers, they go out when they wil, and are lodged where they please.) Yet are they all day at libertie in their Prison: but at night they are secured in this manner, They sleep at night upon planks, at the lower end whereof, where their feet lie, there is a great piece of Timber laid athwart, which hath store of holes in it, wherein their feet are put, and so locked up: on their hands they put manacles: on the side of each are two Iron rings fastened into the Boards, through which is passed an Iron-Chaine of a good bignesse, and is carried over their breasts from the right side to the left, so that if this Chaine be streightned a little (which is at the courtesie of the Keepers) the poor Prisoner is not able to turne himself, having not only his hands and feet, but his whole body bound. This is the caution which they use for the night.

In the middle of the Court where the aforesaid chambers are, there is, as it were, a little corps d'e gard, where there are foure who keep watch by turnes. If there happen any noise, or stir, in the Prisons, or any thing which giveth suspicion, although it be only the going out of the light, which is to bee kept burning all night long, presently they give notice thereof to the Gaolers, who immediately come in hast to take care of it.

They are visited every moneth by one of those *Mandarines*, who have the care of the Prisons committed to them. As soon as he hath taken his seate in the outward Court, he causeth to be brought before him all those who have been condemned to die. Those wretches present themselves before him with their haire hanging down and uncombed, a sickly countenance, their head hanging on one side, & almost falling off; but as soon as they are remanded to the prison, and have lost the sight of the *Mandarine*, they begin to skip, and are as sound as a fish. The reason of this dissimulation is, because if the *Mandarine* find them fat and in good liking, he causeth them to be bastinadoed, which they call *Tá Foiti*, that is, *to fall upon the fat ones*, saying, that they keep them there, to do penance, to grow leane and die, and not to make good cheere. The other Prisoners also are brought before him one by one, and the *Mandarine* enquireth of the Gaolers, how they behave themselves, and accordingly he dispenseth his

his *Bastinadoes*, to those that are troublesome, unquiet and *Gamesters*.

After that, he visiteth the chambers of the Prisoners, where he suffereth them to have no manner of conveniencie, if he find either, Seats, Tables, Beds, or such like things, he causeth them presently to be taken away; for they will not have their Prisons to be as ours are, for the securing only of their Persons, but also to punish their bodies.

They who are committed to prison, are not only subject to the imprisonment, but also to many contributions and payments. The *Mandarines* have a tablet done over with a white varnish, whereon is written the name and crime of the person apprehended, this is given to the officer, who having received it, carrieth him away presently to Prison, and maketh him pay for his journey, which fee they call *Tablet-money*. When he entreteth the second gate, commeth the Notarie Generall of the Prisoners, who is commonly one of them himself: he hath his Seate and Table (which is only that whereon the Prisoners eat) he asketh him his name and the cause of his imprisonment, which he presently enrolleth in the book of Prisoners, making him pay for the honour which he receiveth in having his name entred. Next after that, he is delivered to the Gaolers and overseers of the severall chambers, or to some one of them, and if the Prisoners are many, they begin to distribute them to one another: if it be one man only, they bid him go to the chambers of the North, or of the South &c. and presently the overseer of that is to be paid his fee. As soon as he is come to his quarter, there cometh to him another little scribe, whose office is only to take his name, and to write it in the particular Table of that warde, which alwaies hangeth up there; and here he is to pay another fee for this writing. After that cometh another, who is the sweeper of the Prison, and telleth him, Sir, Cleanlinesse is very necessary here, this place is to be swept and kept cleane; your fire to be made &c. all which cannot be done without opening the purse. In the mean while cometh one of the Prisoners with a pair of Iron Manacles, the straightest he can find, which he putteth on upon him: about halfe an houre after he cometh again with another wider paire, and telleth him, Brother, I know those Manacles are very straight and painfull, I wil therefore change them for these wider, if you wil pay me for the courtesie; & if he hath no money to give him, he taketh his Cap, or else some part of his cloaths. These are the small charges, with which the poor Prisoners purse is drained.

Then follow the Gaolers, who being to receive a greater fee, allow him longer time: for two daies after his imprisonment they let him alone, to see what he will give of his own accord, and if in that time he present them not with something, for every night after, till they are satisfied they give him trouble and torment enough. This payment is not limited, but is at the discretion of the Gaolers, who endeavour to draw from every one as much as they can, that is, a great summe from those who are rich, lesse from the poor, and from those that have nothing, they take nothing.

This duty is no sooner satisfied, but the last Rights must be paid, that is for the sacrifices of the Idol, or *Pagod* of the Prison, for in every one of them there is a Chappel or two, where every month the Gaolers

lers offer Sacrifice on the first and fifteenth day of the Moon, which consisteth commonly of a Cock, a piece of Pork, two Fishes, Bread, Fruit, and other things. These they seeth a little in water, and the Cock is to be boyled no more than that he may be made to stand upright upon a Table which is placed before the *Pagod*, where the other things are set in handsome order about him, and after it hath stood there an houre, they come and take it away, and dresse the Fish and Flesh anew, seasoning it very well, and then they make a *Banquet*.

The new Prisoners must contribute to furnish this expence; they, who are admitted after this Sacrifice, till the next, which is fifteen daies after, furnisheth the expences of the next Sacrifice; and they that come after that, of the next, and then they are freed from paying.

These Chappels dedicated to the Idols, do not only serve the Prisoners to make their Sacrifices there, but also for other more common uses; that is, for the Prisoners to make their vows, to draw lots, although many times with an unfortunate event, for having libertie and a happie deliverance promised them by the lot, they receive afterward at the *Tribunals Bastinados* and torments.

I was one day present when a poor heathen drew his lot, kneeling on his knees with much devotion, and because he could not read, he called another to instruct him out of the little book, which is kept for that purpose in the Chappels: having drawn his lot, saith this poor man, well, what have I got? Shall I be tormented at the *Tribunall*? The other reading over the leafe cryed out, Be of good courage, all is well, you have a good lot. Shall I not have the *Rack* given me, replied the poor wretch? Which was a kind of torment which he was much afraid of. Fear not, answered the Interpreter, you shall have no harme. That very morning this poor *Gentile* was brought to his Tryall, who in truth was innocent, the fact, for which he was committed, being done by his brother, who had received stolen goods into his house, and knowing that he was discovered, fled away; and so this poor wretch was apprehended in his stead. When he was examined, the *Mandarine*, not satisfied with his answers, commanded he should have the *Rack* given him. He being loath to be carried away, made what resistance he could, so that they were faine to drag him by main force, and being a strong sturdy young man, defended himselfe with so much courage and violence, that ten or twelve men were not able to rule him, but tumbling up and downe from one side to another, and catching hold of whatsoever he came neer, he hit by chance against the *Mandarines* Table, and overturn'd it to the ground with all that was upon it, by which accident he did so anger the Judge, and enrage the Sergeants against him, that when they had seised him, they gave him the *Rack* in so cruel a manner, that they were faine to send him back to Prison upon other mens Shoulders, having his heel-bones out of joynt. The next day, when his pain was something mitigated, and he more capable of reason, I went to visit him, much compassionating his sufferings, he related to me all particulars of the storie, and I began to touch upon that point of the lots and their interpretation, saying unto him, what hath your *Idol* done for you? *The Devil*, said he, *take the Idol and his lots, for they are all such*

as he is; and some other words, which are not proper to be related here.

The Prisoners do passe the summer well enough, but in winter, as the cold is very great, and the sustenance of many very little, they must needs suffer much: and although the *Mandarines*, for the good of the poor Prisoners, do often commute Corporal punishments into *Pecuniary Mulcts*; yet when this is done, there is not enough for all. Thieves, when they are taken, are generally abandoned of their friends and kindred; neither is there any, who will own them, and so, many of them perish miserably. I have often seen six or seven dead bodies thrown out at a time.

They have a notable *Superstition* concerning the dead, which is, that they will not suffer the Body when it is dead, to be carried out at that Gate whereat it entred when it was living. And to take away this difficulty, in the outward Court, whereof we have spoken, there is a little doore, or hole in the wall, where they are thrown out; if it be a person of qualitie, there is alwayes leave obtained for him to go out of Prison before he dieth, that he might not have his Carcasse thrown out at that hole, accounting it the most shamefull disgrace that can befall them. Hence one of the most horrible imprecations and curses that is used in that Kingdom is, *La Laoti*, that is, *maist thou be dragd through the hole of a Prison*.

The *Prisons*, having no grate on the outside of them, they, who would visit or speak with any Prisoner, must of necessity enter into the Prison; and there is this inviolable custome among them, that none is to visit a Prisoner without bringing him something to eate, more or lesse according to his ability, and if by accident he bringeth nothing, he maketh his excuse for having, broken a custome so generally received. But perhaps some will ask me how I came to be so expert in these poynts? Truly I must answer him in a word, that though this knowledge be not much worth, yet it cost me very deare.

Their trialls differ very little from ours, but only that the delays and the replies are not so many: every thing is done by way of *Petitions* or *Memorials*, and in these every one is allowed to say what he can for himself. There are some who get their living only by drawing up such writings as these for Prisoners; but we do not admit them to the Sacrament of Baptism, unless they leave this employment: for they tel so many lies in them, that the *Mandarines* had need of a great deal of experience, and discretion to find out any truth amongst so many falsehoods: but sometimes, when they are taken in them, they are well paid for them in *Bastinados*.

The *Vice-roy* of *Nankim*, who was a great friend to our Fathers, and, though a heathen, was well affected to the Christian religion, and well acquainted with the doctrine of it, told me one day this story, As I was giving audience, said he, at my *Tribunal*, and hearing of causes, there was one, who among others, presented me a *Memoriall*, I tooke it and read it, and found it full of nothing but revilings and Slanders against the *Christian Religion*, and the *Christian Chinesses* of that City, speaking sufficiently ill of both. I asked him then, Do you understand this law, and do you know this people? Yes Sir, answered he, It is an upstart, perverse, strange law, &c. Speaking yet more evill of it than he had written in his *Memoriall*. I presently put my hand to my *Tallies*, and flung out six, the

Officers presently gave him thirty *Bastinados* (and those which are given at these *Tribunals*, are commonly well set on) as soon as he had gotten up upon his legges, and had a little composed himselfe, I told him, that I saw his petition was not well enough digested for a businessse of so great moment, and bid him go and consider better of it, and more diligently informe himselfe, and to come and give me an account of it; but from that day to this I never heard more of him.

The petition is presented by the party, or by some other in his name, after this manner. The Court, before the *Tribunall*, is commonly full of people that have suites there, but there is an entry in the middle of them, which leadeth directly to the *Mandarines* seat that is alwaies kept empty, and free to passe through. He that hath a petition to present, when his time cometh, kneeleth on his knees in that passage, having his petition in his hand lifted up as high as his head. Then the *Mandarine* sendeth one to take it, and if he hath any question to aske him, he asketh it; then if he accepteth the petition, he foldeth it, and layeth it on the Table; if not, he presently throweth it away; and if he judgeth the petition to be impertinent, he appoynteth a certaine number of *Bastinados*, to be bestowed on the petitioner, as hath been already said: and many times for no other reason, but because the Judge is in ill humour, although he that presenteth the petition is not the party whom it doth concerne. I saw the like case happen to a *Bonzo*, (for they also are subject to the secular power) for no other reason, but that the *Mandarine* was peevish.

The *Bonzo* used the ordinary Ceremony with his petition: his acceptance was, that the *Mandarine* presently turned towards the Table, and cast downe two Tallies of wood, which was no sooner done, but presently there were two men, that tooke the *Bonzo*, one by the head, and the other by the heeles, and throwing him downe to the ground, stripped downe his drawers to his very feete, and bestowed ten *Bastinados* upon him, with so much dexteritie, that the businessse was done before any was aware of it.

Their condemnations are for the most part pecuniary, and sometimes, though seldome, they are sent into banishment, or to the Gallies, or rather something equivalent to it. For to speak the truth, they have not that punishment, but one very like it, that is, they are put to worke on the rivers, in the Kings ships and vessels, they tugge at the oare, and do other services, being bound two together in one chaine.

They only are condemned to death, (which is commonly executed by hanging, strangling, or cutting off the head,) who falsifie the Kings mony, or commit murder: if there be many guilty of the same crime, one man only is executed, the rest have other punishments inflicted on them: but robbers by the high-waies are all to die, if the fact be sufficiently proved. Lesser theeves for the first fault, if the theft be of small value, are *Bastinadoed*, and imprisoned for a certaine time. If they be taken a second time, they have the same punishment with some advantage; or else they have these two letters *Za Tao* imprinted on the outside of their arme, both which do signifie *Thiefe*. These two letters are neatly carved on a piece of wood, and being rubbed over with inke, they do make the impression of

of them on their flesh, and then with another piece of wood, wherein are foure needles conveniently placed, they do prick holes in that part of their flesh which is coloured with inke, and when the bloud cometh, they rub it with their hands, to give entrance to the inke; and by that means the impressiion remaineth for ever. Adulterers are severely punished, although not with death, and besides other chastisements they are sufficiently loaden with *Bastinadoes*. The women also taken in the same fault, if they have been formerly of honest repute, are whipt or *Bastinadoed*, with their drawers or *Calzones* pulled downe to their heeles, to make them the more ashamed, and sometimes also they are whipt in the publick streets: but, if they have formerly lost both their shame and their honour, they beat them only upon their *Calzones*.

They do many times die of the *Bastinadoes* they receive, especially if the delinquent deserve death, and they have a minde to dispatch him; for it is impossible a man should live, after he hath received seventy or eighty *Bastinadoes*, especially as they are laid on, when it is before a great *Tribunal*. In the year 1617 there was in the City of *Nankim* a kinde of *Confraternitie*, or society of fifty men, called by them *Thien Cam*. These according to an agreement made among themselves, did alwaies assist one another: an injury resented by one, was vindicated by all, and by this meanes they committed a thousand insolencies: at length they were almost all apprehended, & distributed to the severall prisons of the City; where there are at least fourteen or fifteen: at their very first entrance, they put about the neck of each a *Kian Hao* (of which we will speak hereafter) so heavie, that it was impossible for him that bore it, to stirre out of his place; and when any of them was to be brought out, he was forced to have two men to help him to carry it. They were brought to a triall before the Governour of the City, who caused them to receive threescore and ten blowes a man, whereof they all dyed.

For ordinary crimes they inflict a certain punishment, that is not in use among us in *Portugall*; they call it *Kian Hao*. It is a great thick board, foure or five Palmes square, with a hole cut in the middle of it about the bignesse of a mans neck. This they fasten about their necks, and to it are hung two scrolls of paper of a hands breadth, wherein are written his fault, and the cause of his punishment; they serve also to shew that the board hath not been opened: and so with these great boards about their necks, these poore wretches are brought out every day, and exposed to shame in the publick streets, for fifteen, twenty, or thirty days, according as they are adjudged by their sentence; whose greatest rigour is, that during all that time these boards are not taken off their necks, neither night nor day. And all this must be understood to be done after they have received their *Bastinadoes*, which are never wanting, there being no condemnation in *China*, (unlesse it be pecuniary,) without this previous disposition: neither is it necessary to make mention of it in their condemnation, this being alwaies understood to be their first dish, and as a necessary, though accessary circumstance; and then followeth their sentence, as the principall verb. And the truth is, that, as the *Giapponeffes* are wont to say, they cannot Govern without the *Catana*, that is, the Scimitar or Sword;

Sword ; so it may be said of the *Chineffes*, that without *Bambu*, that is, the cudgell or *Baston*, with which they use to beat men, it is not possible they should be ruled. For the better understanding of this, I will briefly declare the use of it.

In every *Tribunall* of *China*, when the *Mandarine* giveth audience, there stand neere unto his Table ten or twelve men on both sides thereof, with long *Cudgells* in their hands, rested upon the ground (and sometimes for the greater terrour, they will place fourty men about them, as they did, when the fathers were brought before them for their Religion.) These *Cudgells* are seaven palms long, being at the bottom about a hands breadth in circumference, tapering still towards the top, where they are small and slender, that they might more commodiously be used with both hands. They are made of *Bambu*, which hath some resemblance to *Cane*, in that it is knotty and hollow within, but is different in this, that it is a massie, strong, heavie, hard wood.

Moreover, on the Table of the *Mandarine* standeth that case of wooden *Tallies*, whereof we have spoken, and every *Tally* importeth five blowes; wherefore when the *Mandarine* would have any one *Bastinadoed*, he throweth downe as many *Tallies*, as make up the number of the blowes he would have given. Every one of the *Upi* (as the *Portugheffes* call them who carry the *Bastons*) is ready to take his *Tally*, others to sieze the patient, and to lay him on the ground. Assoone as his breeches are pulled downe, presently one of the *Upi* layeth five *Bastinadoes* upon his naked flesh, according to the import of his *Tally*, and withdraweth himselfe. Then cometh another, and layerh on other five, and so it is alwayes done by a fresh hand, till he hath received the number assigned him : when the *Mandarine* throweth the *Tallies* out of the case, he is not to give any reason for it, neither must he be asked, but his commands are presently put in execution, and only in some smaller offences the patient may obtain with his money, that the blowes be not altogether so fierce and cruell.

This is to be understood, when the *Mandarine* sitteth on his *Tribunal*, for in no other place he maketh use of those *Tallies*, although he be alwayes waited on with those *Cudgells*; and by reason the use of them is so frequent, they alwayes accompany the *Mandarine*, who maketh use of them in any place, and upon any occasion. It were a sufficient cause if any one that met him on horse-back did not alight, or that he crossed his way, which because it is a slight fault, is chastised only with five or ten blowes. And the *Mandarine* hath this power, not only in the Townes and Cities of his owne *Jurisdiction*, but also in any place whatsoever, though it be not properly under his *Authority*.

Before I left the City of *Nankim*, (the *Metropolis* of the Province of *Kiamsi*, where we have a Church, a house, and a good number of Christians,) there came thither a *Mandarine*, who was Judge of one of the neighbouring Townes, and passed through our street, which is one of the most frequented of that City. There was, in a remote corner thereof, a fortune-teller, one of those, who used to sell good fortunes to the people, sitting in his chaire, with his Table, books, and other things before him. The

Mandarine

Mandarine passed once up, and another time downe the streer, and the *Suon Mim* (for so they call these *Diviners*) never moved himselfe off his chaire, either the first or the second time. After a few houres the *Mandarine* had occasion to passe through the same street againe, and coming to a little *Piazza*, in a corner whereof this unhappy fortune-teller had his seat, the *Mandarine* called out to him, saying, you make no difference of men, neither do you doe your Courtesie to the Kings *Mandarines*: take him away, and give him what he deserveth; presently in the street, before his owne seat, they gave him ten *Bastinadoes*. Go your waies now said the *Mandarine*, and learn manners, and study better that art of yours, since you have not been able to foresee this good fortune, that hath befallen you: with so much facility do they bestow their *Bastinades*, neither do men make any account of them, although they alwaies pay them in ready coyn; all do give them, all receive them, and all have felt them, neither doth it seeme strange to any one, nor doth any hold himselfe aggrieved for them. In the same manner do Lords and Masters chastise their servants, except only, that for the most part they do not take downe their breeches. The like do Schoole-Masters use in their Schooles to their Scholars, of what quality soever they be, beating them on the buttocks with their breeches on, and laying them not upon the ground, but upon a forme. The same also do they use to little children, for they have neither whips nor disciplines, but rather abhorre them; wondering how we can chastise our children with a whip, which they apprehend to be a very cruell thing; and the children themselves, because the whip smarteth more, and tis struck upon their naked skin, do rather choose the *Bambu*. And that you might want nothing, there are in *China* certain persons, who do buy these *Bastinadoes* at the *Tribunals*; or (to speak more correctly,) do sell the receiving of them in stead of others. But this is only in some slight causes, for in others they neither may nor will. But when the cause is such that this may be done, he agreeth with the party for so much a *Bastinado*, and appeareth before the *Mandarine* in the place of the delinquent, and receiveth them for him.

The *Rack* is used also in certain necessary cases. I do not know that they have above two kindes of it. That of the feet, and that of the hands. For the feet they use an instrument called *Kia Quen*, it consisteth of three pieces of wood put in one Traverse, that in the middle is fixt, the other two are moveable, between these their feet are put, where they are squeezed and prest, till the heele-bone run into the foot: for the hands they use also certain small pieces of wood between their fingers, they call them *Tean Zu*, then they straiten them very hard, and seale them round about with paper, and so they have them for some space of time.

. CHAP. 29.

Of some particular things, which do
facilitate and rectifie the Go-
vernment in China.

THe *First* is, that the King doth bear the charges of his Officers, furnishing them with all manner of expences, by this meanes, taking from them all occasions, which might, through their necessities either engage them to severall Persons, or runne them much into debt, obliging them by the same meanes more strictly to observe the lawes, and to walk more directly in the paths of justice.

After that a *Doctour*, or *Licentiate*, or any other hath an employment bestowed upon him at Court, and departeth thence to go to his *Govern-ment*, all the expences of his person, Servants and Familie, as well in travelling by water as by land, including the hire of Boats, Carts, Horses, Porters, and other things, are all defrayed by the King.

Throughout their whole journey they never lodge at Innes, but in all the Townes and Cities, there are *Palaces* appointed for to entertain them, where all things fitting are provided for them. They alwayes send a man before as an harbinger, so that by that time they arrive, all things are in order for their reception. And if it fall out, as sometimes it doth, that they cannot reach to a good Town, there are in certain places, houses built for this purpose by the King, which they call *Teli*, where every thing is provided for them. The worst is, that because it is all at the Kings charges it is done more profusely and lavishly than is requisite: as for example, when the *Mandarine* hath occasion for ten horses to carry his familie, they require fifteen or twenty; and there is likewise provision made for so many through the whole journey, and the greatest part of them receive this in money.

Neither doth the matter stop here, but goeth yet further. There being some, who have not so much care of their credit and reputation, as of their purse; and when they are to have so many dishes, and so many severall sorts of meat, according to the Kings appointment, they give order, that the provision should be lesse and receive the rest in money, nevertheless there are but few who dare be guilty of such baseness.

Neither doth the King only furnish the expence of their persons, but that also, which is requisite to sustaine the honour and dignitie of their places, as, men on horse back, and on foot to accompany them from Town to Town through all places where they are to passe.

The *Second* is, that in the places where their Governments are, he provideth them *Palaces* for their habitation, in case they have none of their own, as also rich Furniture and moveables, and all manner of Servants within doors, and without doors even to the pages, who are never so few, but that he alloweth eight or ten of them to a Judge of the smallest Town;

Town; yet they do not waite all at one time, unlesse it be when the *Mandarine* giveth a particular command for it.

The *Third* is, that the *Mandarines*, in treating with the subjects, are very warie and circumspect, never discourfing nor treating in secret with any, but alwayes publickly, so that every one may be witnesse to what they say. Their *Palaces* are alwayes kept shut within & without. After they have given audience (which they do constantly every day, & many times both morning and evening, for there is alwayes someting to do) they retire, and the *Palace* is shut within, for the *Mandarines*, and without, for the Officers. And although the gates are opened as often as he hath a mind to go abroad, yet it is never done secretly, but one beateth a drumme within, to whom another answereth without, and presently the Officers and other people, who are to accompany him, come together, as soon as they are all assembled, the gates of the *Palace* are opened, & the *Mandarine* cometh out.

The *Fourth* is, that no person of their house, whether they be Sonnes, Cousins, or Servants that dwell with them, may go out to visit, converse, or treat of any businesse, for fear least they should receive any bribe or present. The *Pourveyour*, or *Caterour*, dwelleth without, and is of the same *Tribunall*, as well as the rest of the Officers, and hath every day given him in writing, what he is to buy. And because it is not convenient that the gates of the *Palace* should be opened upon every small occasion, they have all turning wheelles, by which they receive in, and send out, whatsoever there is occasion for.

The *Fifth* is, that they govern only three years in one place, by which meanes they are prevented from establishing themselves too strongly, and from contracting any streight alliances or friendships. None governeth in his own Countrie, except the Captains, who are presumed, when there is occasion, will defend and preserve their own Countrie, with greater affections and endeavours than strangers.

The *Sixth* is, that among the *Mandarines*, there is a great subordination of some to others. The inferiours with all reverence and obedience, respect their *Superiours*, and also visit them courteously, and at certain set times do make them presents.

The *Seventh* is, that there is a strict watch kept over the Government. For besides the *Tauli* and *Quoli*, whose office it is to inform themselves of whatsoever passeth, and accordingly to give advice thereof to the King, every Province hath a *Visitour*, not for many years, but a new one every year, to the end he might do his Office more exactly, and that he might either chastise, or give notice to the King of such as do not comply with their duty, according to their obligation.

The *Eighth* is, that every three years there is a general visitation held upon all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, partly by meanes of the information of the *Visitours*, and partly by private inquisition, and it is held the same year, wherein, from all parts of the Kingdome, the *Mandarines* go to render obedience to the King in *Pekim*, and so the execution of this review is done at the Court it self by chastising some, abasing others, and taking their offices away. The principall causes for which they are punished, are these following.

First if they sell justice, by receiving bribes, these lose their Offices, and are sent home to their houses.

The *Second* is, if they be rigorous and cruell, punishing men beyond all humanitie, these lose both their Office and honour, and are put into the ranck of the common people.

The *Third* is, if they be negligent or carelesse in their government, they lose their Office, but retain still the Ensignes of their dignitie.

The *Fourth* is, if they be hastie and precipitate, and not deliberate enough in giving their judgment, these are abased to lower Offices, as from a Governour to a Judge, and the like.

The *Fifth* is, if they be too young, and their Actions light and *Juvenile*, these are likewise degraded, and employed in lower charges.

The *sixt*, if they be old, and have not strength to undergo the paines requisite in their audiences, and other services of the King, they give them their *Quietus est*, and send them to take their ease at their own houses. And although this be not a fault, but only a failing of nature, yet it is the worst of all, because they, not being able to remedie the incommodities of their old age, this defect still encreaseth upon them by time, and they are by consequence made incapable of returne to their Offices.

The *Seaventh* is, if they be carelesse in the conduct and government of their house and Familie, whither it be that, where they actually dwell, or that which is in their own Country, which is governed also by their order, to which, both their servants, kindred and sonnes, do yeeld an exact obedience (which is not hard for them to obtain, by reason of their great authoritie) these likewise lose their Office.

The *Ninth* thing, which much facilitateth good government, is, that the Kings will hear the *Mandarines* speak, although it be in a businesse that is displeasing to them; and the *Mandarines* will freely speak to them, although it be with some hazard to themselves; so that both the one and the other are much to be admired, In the *Mandarines*, their liberty in advising, And in the Kings, their facility in hearing, In the *Mandarines*, their zeale to justice and good government, And in the Kings, their sinceritie and desire to settle and establish it. They have many examples of this in their Historie, and I am willing to set down two or three of them.

From a certain *Province*, there was sent unto the King, a damsell of a rare beautie, and incomparable features. Now his predecessour had been formerly intrigued and engaged in the like occasion, & very great dammages had resulted thereby unto the Kingdome (for such like persons are feldome causes of much good) and the same inconveniences were feared at present. A *Colao* undertook the businesse, and resolved to speak to the King about it: he was admitted, and spake with so much efficacy and perswasion that the King told him, that assoon as she was brought to the *Palace*, she should be dismissed and sent away. Sir, replied the *Mandarine*, your Majesty would do well to command her to be sent away suddenly, immediately, for if she once enter into your house, and that you have seen her, and heard her speak, your hands will tremble, for women have the power to enchaunt without witch-craft: neither will I go out at one gate of the *Palace*, till she be first sent away at another. The which was accordingly put in execution.

There

There was a King so taken with the love of Birds, that he caused the most curious and beautifull Birds to be sought for through the woods of the whole Kingdome: and as the Kings will is like the *primum mobile*, in giving motion to the hands of his subjects, this search was put in execution with great labour and oppression of the people, especially of one Province, where this chase was continually made by many, insomuch that the husbandmen could not attend their *Ploughing* and *Sowing*: so that by this meanes they came to suffer great want. It happened that a *Mandarine* passed through that *Province*, as he came from another, who had more zeale and compassion for them, than they who governed there. As soon as he was come to Court he presented a *Memoriall* to the King, wherein he did so lively set forth the small importance of that chase, and the great trouble and disturbance which it caused to the people, that the King, not only bounded his curiosity, and commanded they should desist from taking any more Birds; but also gave libertie to those, which were already taken, commanding the doors of the *Aviaries* and *Cages* to be set open, that they might fly away.

In the City of *Pekin*, in the *Palace* of one of the Kings daughters, whom they call *Cum Chu*, there was one of her Servants, who was very insolent, having committed many high crimes, and one among the rest, which deserved death: the *Mandarines* much desired to apprehend him, but in the *Palace* they could not, and he never went abroad, but when he wayted on his *Princesse*. At length there was a *Mandarine*, who resolved to take him by any meanes he could, and to this effect, when the *Princesse* went next abroad, he with his men set himself before the coaches, and made them stop, and then presently laid hands on that man, and carried him away. The *Princesse*, relenting the affront that was done her, returned presently to the *Palace* full of indignation, and was so transported with colar, that she would not stay till the King came back from the audience, where he then was, but went thither her self in person to complain. The *Mandarine* was presently sent for, who had put himself in a readines, well imagining he should be called: he presenteth himself before the King, who sharply reproveth him. He answered him, Sir, I have done nothing but that which *your Majestie commandeth, & the law ordaineth*. But you ought, replied the King, to have sought some other time and opportunity. I have sought it long enough, answered the *Mandarine*, but I should never have found it. At least, replied the King, ask my daughter pardon, and bow your head. Where there is no fault, answered the other, there is no need of pardon, neither will I ask pardon for having discharged my Office. Then the King commanded two *Mandarines*, that by force they should bow his head down to the ground: but he by strength kept himself up so stiff, that it was not possible for them to do it, so that the King was constrained to send him away. A few daies after the King gave order, that he should have a better Office bestowed upon him, being much satisfied with his integrity. I forbear to relate many like cases, which I might bring in confirmation of this.

The *Tenth* is the strickt watch and ward, which is kept in the Cities, Townes and Villages; in every street there is placed a man, and if it be

long, two or more; who are appointed to take care of any disorders that may arise there. In every street likewise there is a kinde of prison called *Lemphù*, that is, *the cold shop*, where upon a sudden occasion they may imprison a delinquent, untill notice be given thereof to some Magistrate.

The *Eleventh* is, that every night infallibly all the gates of the City are shut up as we have already said. The streets also are shut up with grates made for that purpose: But the streets are not alwaies shut up, nor in all parts of the City, but only in some, and that upon some certain occasions and occurrences.

The *Twelfth* is, that persons of honour and authority do beare great respect one to another, and it would be accounted a great disgrace for any of them to quarrell with another openly. Hence it happeneth, that although many times they have occasion of disgust and hatred, yet outwardly they alwaies observe their *Decorum*; neither do they, upon this account, avoyd any meetings that they might not come together.

The *Thirteenth* is, that none do beare armes except the Souldiers, and they only at their musters, or when they do accompany the *Mandarines*. The common people, who contrariwise do easily quarrell one with another, do make use only of their *fists*, and he that catcheth the other first by the haire gaineth the battell; nay, if they have any thing in their hands, that might draw blood, as a staffe, a piece of wood or iron, or such like thing, presently they lay it downe, and go to it with their *fists*.

The *Fourteenth* is, that the whores and curtezans, who are many times the causes of great disorders, do lodge without the walls, neither is any of them suffered to dwell within. They have no particular houses, but many of them live together with a man, who hath the care and government of them, and is obliged to give an account of any disorder that falleth out in their lodgings.

The *Fifteenth* is, that they forbid all commerce with strangers within the Kingdom, least they might infect them with new customes and manners, and disturbe their ancient way of government, which is a law, that was in part observed also by the *Lacedemonians*, upon the very same motive. Yet they have never prohibited *Embassadours* from other Kingdoms, and accordingly many are received, who are sent from the neighbouring Kings: only they lay this obligation upon them, that when they are arrived at the first City of the Kingdom, they are to stay there, where the Magistrates do treat them with all honour and respect, and presently give the King advice of their arrivall, who sendeth them leave to come to the Court, without which licence, they are not permitted to go forward. When they are come to Court, they are lodged in a particular *Palace*, whence they may not go out, but in the manner we have above related.

Above all, they have their certain laws, statutes, and ordinances, by which both they and their Kingdom are governed. These are of two sorts, The first consisteth in ancient rites, customes and ceremonies, common to the whole Kingdom, and are contained in five *Bookes*, and are esteemed to be, as it were Sacred. Of the second sort are the laws of the Kingdom, according to which, Justice is administred in particular cases, both civill
and

and criminall, concerning all that is to be observed in the execution of them. These are likewise very ancient, and are all founded upon those five *Cardinall vertues*, so much esteemed by their *Ancestours*, and which are at this day held in great veneration among them, that is, *Gin, Y, Li, Chi, Sin*: *Pietie, Justice, Policie, Prudence* and *Fidelitie*.

Gin, say they, signifieth *Pietie, Humanitie, Charitie, Rewerence, Love* and *Compassion*. Which they explaine after this manner, To esteeme ones selfe lesse than others, To be affable, To succour those that are afflicted, To help those that are in necessitie, To have a tender and compassionate heart, To beare good will to all men, and, To use all this more particularly toward their parents, sustaining them while they are in health, and taking care to have them cured while they are sick, serving them while they live, and honouring them with funerall obsequies, when they are dead.

Y, according to their exposition, is *Justice, Equalitie, Integrity, condescension in things reasonable and just*. In this manner the Judge is to give every man his owne. The rich man, To take heed he be not proud of his wealth, and, To give some part of it to the poore, To worship heaven, To respect the earth, Not to be contentious, Not to be obstinate, To yeeld to what is just and conformable to reason.

Li, they say, is *Policie, Courtesie*, to honour and reverence others as is fitting: which consisteth, In the mutuall respect one man is to beare another, In the mature consideration & circumspection, which is to be used in the ordering of their affaires, In the modestie of their outward deportment, In obedience to the *Magistrates*, In being affable to young men, and respectfull to old men.

Chi, signifieth *Prudence* and *Wisdom*, the which they place, In reading of bookes, In learning of Sciences, In being perfect in the liberall arts, To be learned in matters of Antiquitie, To be well versed in the knowledge of moderne affaires, To observe well what is past, thereby to better regulate the present and future occasions, To discern right from wrong.

Sin, they say, is *Fidelitie* and *Veritie*. It consisteth in a sincere heart and areall intention, To do only that which is good, To imitate what is just, To make their works and words agree, and that which is hidden within, to that which appeareth outwardly.

According to this distribution of their doctrine, they reduce the Common-wealth to five orders of persons, correlative to one another in what concerneth the observance and duty of each, that is, the *King* and the *Subject*, *Father* and *Sonne*, *Husband* and *Wife*, *Elder Brothers* and *Younger Brothers*, and *Friends* one to another.

The *King* is to observe toward his *Subjects*, *Vigilancie, Love* and *Clemencie*, and the *Subjects* toward the *King*, *Loyalty, Reverence*, and *Obedience*. The *Father* toward his *Children*, *Love* and *Compassion*. They toward their *Father*, *Obedience* and *Pietie*. The *Husband* toward the *Wife*, *Love* and *Union*. She toward her *Husband*, *Fidelitie, Respect*, and *Complacency*. The *Elder Brothers* toward the *Younger*, *Love* and *Instruction*. The *Younger* toward the *Elder*, that is, to all their brothers that are elder than they, *Obedience* and *Respect*. *Friends* toward one another *Fidelitie, Truth* and *Sinceritie*.

This

This is the manner of living, which they observed in ancient times, and in the golden age : when their lawes were few, and they that gave *Obedience* to them many, being all founded upon the light and principalls of nature, as is yet to be seen in their books, exprest almost in the same termes they are in ours : when men took no pleasure in governing, but retired from the Court, and left their government, if they saw the people were not profited by their authoritie and example, or that Kings did not moderate themselves by their admonitions ; and so withdrew themselves to their owne possessions, which they tilled with their owne hands, as I have already touched in another place.

But after that *Ambition* and *Avarice* prevailed over *vertue*, and *private Interest* had blinded *Honour* and *Generositie*, this manner of living began to decay, and lawes to encrease : the new *Princes* changing some, moderating others, and adding many, especially *Humou*, the first of this familie which raigneth at present, who finding the Kingdome, by having been some years under the *Tyranny* of the *Tartars*, to have changed many of their ancient customes, for those of strangers, wholly altered the form of government, and reduced the Kingdom, which was formerly divided among many *Princes*, into fifteen *Provinces* and one *Sole Monarch* : whence he was constrained to make new lawes, having notwithstanding alwaies regard unto the ancient ones.

Moreover, the *Chineffes* have their Commandements, and in some *Provinces* they print them very well, and stick them up on the posts of their doores towards the street ; I believe they are not very ancient, and have some correspondence with our Decalogue, as *Not to kill*, *Not to steale*, *Not to lie*, *To Honour their Father and Mother*, &c. And in this point of *Honouring their Parents*, we have much to learne of the *Chineffes*, as also all other nations, who, in my judgement, are all exceeded in this, by *China*. Many excellent ancient things about *Honouring their Parents*, are to this day growne out of use, not in their speaking and writing, but in the execution of them, wherein they are now too negligent. But there are others, which although anciently they were better ordered, yet are to this day in force and vigour enough, and are exactly observed from the *King* even to the meanest *Plebeian*, not only in sustaining their *Parents*, making much of them, and having a speciall care of them, and so much the greater, by how much the elder they are, but by respecting of them also with an incredible reverence and submission, and this, what degree, age, and condition foever their children are in.

The *King* himsele, on certain daies of the year, visiteth his *Mother*, who is seated on a Throne, and, foure times on his feet, and foure times on his knees, he maketh her a profound reverence, bowing his head even to the ground. The same custome is also observed through the greatest part of the Kingdom, and if by chance any one be negligent, or deficient in this duty, toward his *Parents*, they complaine to the *Magistrates*, who punish such offenders very severely.

Nor is the respect lesse, which they beare their *Masters* and *Tutours*. And if *Alexander* could say, that we owe more to our *Masters*, who instruct us, than to our *Parents* who beget us, it seemeth to me, that in *China* only

only this duty is understood, and discharged as it ought to be: for besides the respect, which, during their whole life, they profess to their *Masters*, they are never wanting at certain times to make them presents; and when they are advanced to degrees and offices, they conferre on their *Masters* very considerable benefits and favours.

The *Old men* also in this Kingdom have their place and advantage, the *Chineffes* honouring them no lesse than they were anciently esteemed among the *Lacedemonians*.

When they meet together, although there be some of the company, who are of greater *Nobilitie* (if they have not a dignitie or office, for these alwaies keep their place,) the *Old men* have the precedence, and the young men upon all occasions pay them great respect. The Magistrates do them honour publickly, especially, when they are not only *Old* in years, but also in vertue and good life, having lived without scandall and reproach, and particularly, if they have never been cited into any Court, nor accused of any crime, which among them is taken for a *Testimony* of very great probitie and goodnesse: hence came their proverb, which saith *Xin Pu Kien, Quon Xien Xita Pao*, that is, *The man who hath never seen a Mandarin* (they mean sitting in judgement upon him) *is a precious stone*.

The Magistrates every yeare make *them* a publick banquet, at the Kings charges, with Royall magnificence and ceremonies of great Honour and respect, shewing thereby, what is due to *grey haire*s, which are venerable, not only for their years, but also for their vertues.

To conclude, the *Chineffes* have their books full of Sentences and good counsell, did they but as well observe them in the practise, as they keep them carefully in their papers. I will only repeat some few of them, which come first to my memory.

In doing service to our Masters and old men, the principall point is reverence and courtesie.

We must hide other mens faults, and not publish our owne perfections.

In the generall Government, there must be no particular affection.

We must not do evill, though it be never so little, nor leave a good deed undone, because it is not great.

The vertuous, although young men, are to be Honoured, and the vicious, although old men, are to be avoided.

CHAP. 30.

Of the Moores, Fewes, and other Nations, that are in China.

I Have spoken briefly of the Kingdome of *China*, the people, their customs and manners, as well as I have been able, in regard I am at this present out of the Country, and deprived of the use of their books, out of which I might have taken many things of worth and curiositie. But seeing

ing that at this time I cannot say all that is to be said of any thing, it will not be amisse, to say something of all, and therefore I will now speak of the other nations, who live among them.

In describing the *Province of Cantone*, I said that the Island of *Haynam*, which is very great, and wholly appertaineth unto *China*, is divided into two parts: the first, which is neereſt to the continent, is, on the North part thereof, inhabited by *Chineſſes*, and governed by them: the other, which lieth toward the *South*, upon the confines of *Chochin, China*, is inhabited by a barbarous people, who have their particular language, and their laws and cuſtomes different, without meddling at all with the *Chineſſes*, unleſſe it be in ſome things of commerce.

I ſaid alſo, that between the *Provinces of Chincheo, Cantone, and Kiamſi*, there are certain Mountaines which unite them, as in *Catalogna* the Mountaines of *Monferrat* do unite that Province to the Kingdome of *Arragon*; and how within thoſe Mountaines there was a ſmall Kingdome, which was likewiſe Governed by it ſelfe, not admitting any thing from the *Chineſſes*, except Phyſicians, Medicines, and ſome little traffique.

Befide theſe in the Province of *Yunnan*, which is very large, lying towards the *South*, in the latitude of 24 degrees, there is a great Countrey inhabited by a particular people, who uſe another language and other cuſtomes. They have a little King called by the *Chineſſes*, *Thu Quon*, a *Mandarine* of earth, they pay tribute to the King of *China*, they uſe traffique, and live in peace.

The ſame things hath been ſaid of the Province of *Que, Cibeu*, where, in the confines thereof, there is a people, who have their particular heads, and Governours, without any other dependance on the *Chineſſes*, than the Inveſtiture of the Title, by which they are called.

There are moreover in *China*, *Moors* in great abundance, not in all the Provinces, nor in every City, but yet in the more principall. They ſpeak the language of the Countrey, and know nothing of their own tongue, a few words only excepted. They are acquainted alſo with many things of the holy Scripture.

In *Nankim* I found one, who was born and bred in that Citie, that pronounced to me *David, Abraham* and *Isaac*, as diſtinctly as I could do my ſelf. In their *Phyſiognomie*, noſe, eyes, beard and face, they are altogether like the *Chineſſes*. They are Merchants, Phyſicians &c. They have Offices in the *Tribunals*: they ſtudy and are admitted to the examinations, and come many times to be *Mandarines*, but not of the great ones. for the moſt part they ſtop at the degree of *Licentiate*. Commonly where they live, there are Beef-Shambles, becauſe they eat no Pork, therefore whereſoever they are, they kill and ſell Beef; and it ſeemeth to me to be the greateſt advantage the Countrey hath by them; for where they are not, there is ſeldome any of that fleſh to be ſould. They have their publick *Meſches* allowed them by the King, They follow their own religion, but not very exactly. They, who arrive at the degree of *Litterato*, or to the dignity of ſome Office, do not much care to be advanced higher.

They preſerve their Nation entire, by marrying with one another, although ſometimes they take *Chineſſe* Women for their Wives; but they never

never give their Daughters in marriage to the Sonnes of *Chineſſes*. The reason is, becauſe in *China* the wife followeth the husband, ſhe is brought to her husbands-Fathers houſe, there ſhe liveth and followeth his religion; therefore when a *Gentile* is brought to the houſe of a *Moor*, ſhe becometh a *Moor*, and a *Mooriſh* Woman being brought to the houſe of a *Gentile*, muſt infallibly become a *Gentile*.

The *Chineſſes* deſpiſe them as being ſtrangers, and call them *Hociten* *Hoci Hoci*. The letters, with which they write their name, hath no other ſignification, but only proper to expreſſe that people, nevertheleſſe they are very angry and grieved, when they are called by it. The name by which they call themſelves is *Kia Muen*, that is, *the gate of Inſtructions*. If they be deſpiſed of the *Chineſſes*, they no leſſe deſpiſe them, becauſe they worſhip Idols, and are *Gentiles*: and thus the one is not behind hand with the other. In the City of *Nankim* they have, as it were a mount of *Pietie*, or *Lombard*, with which they help only thoſe of their Nation, but not thoſe, who are Priſoners for their miſdeeds and wickedneſſe.

They came into *China* about 700 years ſince being called from *Turqueſtan*, by the King of that time, to aid him againſt a rebellion that was then in the Kingdome, wherein they had ſo good ſucceſſe, that they who were willing to remain there, were allowed to enjoy the ſame priviledge with the natives of the Country, ſince which time they have ſo multiplied, that at this time there are many thouſands of them. Afterwards in the warre which King *Hum* had with the *Tartars* about 300 yeares ſince, they took his part and came in, to his aſſiſtance; at which time the King gaining the victorie they grew into greater eſteem and were admitted to take part in the government of the Kingdome.

We have already ſpoken of the entrie which is made into *China*, every three and every five years, with an *Embaffie* and preſents to the King; and though they are all *Moores*, yet they are of ſeverall Countries and Kingdomes, and very rarely any of them remain in *China*.

There are likewiſe *Jews* in *China*, although at this time no great number of them: but when, or how they came thither I am not able to ſay. Anciently there was greater ſtore of them, but they have been diminished by little and little, many of them turning *Moors*. There live more of them in the Province of *Ponan*, in the capitall City thereof, called *Cai Fum Fu*, than in any other place. They have there a *Synagogue*, well built and adorned in the faſhion of a great Chappel, and ſet out with curtaines. They ſay they have there a very ancient Hebrew Bible. Father *Julius Alenes*, one of our company, was among them for ſome time: they ſhewed him their *Synagogues*, but would not draw their curtaines and let him ſee the Bible. Father *Matthæus Riccius* affirmeth, that according to the relation which the *Jews* themſelves made to him thereof in *Pekim*, it was not at all differing from ours. They have no knowledge at all of *Chriſt*, ſo that it ſeemeth, they were entred into *China* before he came into the World; or at leaſt, if they have ever heard of him, the memorie of it is quite loſt: and therefore it would be of great conſequence to ſee their Bible: for perhaps they have not corrupted it, as our *Jews* have done, to obſcure the glorie of our Redeemer.

These, as they are in no great number, so it is not probable they should long preserve themselves. They who at the Court had some discourse with our Fathers, did much lament that they had lost themselves for want of the *Hebrew Tongue*, and by the little knowledge they had of their law, and said, that after some time they should all become either *Moors* or *Gentiles*: that the ruler of their Synagogue at that time was a decrepit old man, and his sonne, who was to succeed him in his Office, young and ignorant of the things of their law, and that indeed there were very few among them, who were zealous observers of it.

Moreover these *Jews* did seem to be much troubled and weary of the reproaches which the *Gentiles* laid upon some ceremonies of their law, which is a sign they have no great affection for it: as, their not eating of Swines flesh, their not touching a beast, which hath been killed by the hand of a Gentile, but especially the circumcising their Infants on the eighth day; which their wives and *Chinesse* kindred tell them, is a *cruell and barbarous thing*.

At this time we have, in that City of *Cai Funifu* a house and Church; and (when I left that Kingdome) a good number of Christians, which daily encreased, not without hope also, that some good may be done upon those Jews, who being so ready to change their religion, will more easily embrace the true one, which hath more conformitie to theirs, than any other.

CHAP. 31.

*Of the Christian Religion planted many ages
since in China: and of a very Ancient
stone lately discovered there, which
is an admirable Testimonie thereof.*

IT hath alwayes been a well grounded opinion, that the *Christian Religion* hath been very anciently planted in *China*, *Paulus Venetus* making a relation of that Countie (from whence it is certain that he went many daies journey into the Countie of the *Tartars*) assureth us, that in that time there were a great number of *Christians in China*, who had very sumptuous Churches, and named the Cities where they lived. He wrot this with very much truth; for of all that which he mentioneth, there are yet remaining many houses, and in other places the ruines of them, as a *Testimonie* of it.

To this may be added the *Testimonie* of other grave Authours, wherein we read, that the preaching of the *Gospell* penetrated as farre as *China*, by the *Ministrie* of the *Apostle St. Thomas* and his *Disciples*. Among other writings, out of which this may be drawn, the *Chalde* books concerning the *Indian Christianitie* cultivated by the meanes of the said *Apostle*, are of

no small moment, the which it is certain, are to this day preserved and kept in the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *Granganour*, or *Della Serra*, (that is of the Mountaines) as it is vulgarly called; translated out of that language by order of the Arch-bishop thereof *Franciscus Ros*, by the pains and industry of one of our fathers, who was very skilfull in that tongue. The translation is in Latin, but that it may be more generally understood, we will turne what is cited out of it, into the vulgar.

One of these books is a Breviary, which, in one of the lessons belonging to the second nocturnall, hath these words.

By the means of S. Thomas the errors of the Idolatry of the Indians were dissipated. By the means of St. Thomas the Chineses and Æthiopians were converted to the truth. By the means of St. Thomas they obtained the vertue of Baptism, and the Adoption of Sonnes. By the means of St. Thomas they believed in the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. By the means of St. Thomas they kept that faith, which they had promised to God. By the means of St. Thomas the beames of the knowledge of life enlighined all India. By the means of St. Thomas the Kingdome of Heaven flew and entred into China. And presently there followeth an Antiphona, which saith,

The Indians, the Chineses, the Persians, and the other Islanders, they of Siria, Armenia, Græcia and Romania, in commemoration of St. Thomas do offer their Adoration unto thy most Holy Name, O great God.

In the Summarie of the Constitutions synodall, part. 2. cap. 19, concerning *Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, there is a Canon of the Patriark *Theodotius*, which hath these words;

In like manner also the Bishops of the great Province, such as are for the most part the Metropolitans of China.

After the arrivall of the *Portugheses* into *Cocchine*, the governour of the Mountaines of *Malaber* who was called *Don. Diego* entitled himself *Metropolitan* of *India* and *China*: as did also *Don Giuseppe*, who died at Rome. These were the *Ancient Titles* of that Church; and being taken all together are strong arguments, that the Christian Religion did formerly flourish in *China*.

These were the powerfull motives, that did engage us, after our arrivall thither, with much care and fervour to trace the ruines and footsteps of that *Ancient Christianitie*.

In the Histories of that Kingdome, which we have very diligently perused, we found no mention thereof, to our great admiration, knowing well, how curious and diligent Inquisitours the *Chineses* are in the affaires of their owne Countrie, that they might eternize the memory of them. It is true, we had information, that there were some in those parts, who did reverence the *Crosse* and made the signe of it over their meat, without knowing the reason why they did it. When I was in the capitall City of *Kiamsi*, I was informed by a *Christian*, that in the little Towne of *Tamo, Xan*, which was not farre off, there were some, who when they went out of doores, did make the signe of the *Crosse* upon their forehead, and being asked the reason of that custome, they answered only, that they had learnt it of their *Ancestours*.

In the Court of *Pekin*, some of our fathers being one day to visit a Jew,

he discourfled more particularly to them concerning this matter, and named to them the places and families, who did praftife this figning with the *Croffe*. We fent a brother of our fociety thither, with this information, but with all the diligence he could ufe, he was not able to difcover any thing of what he fought for, whether it were that they had a fufpicion of him, or that really this custom, or thofe families were extinct. Notwithftanding the Jew did ftill affirme, That there were anciently many of thefe, who did reverence the *Croffe*, particularly in the Northern Provinces, and that having gained a great reputation by their skill in learning and armes, they did caufe the *Chineffes* to have a great fufpicion of them, fo that thinking themfelves no longer fafe, they difperfed themfelves into feveral places : others who remained behind, difsembled the Religion they had profefled : others became, either Moores or Jewes, and by this means they came to be extinguifhed. This, as the Jew faid, was about 50 years before, and it is now about 30 years fince he made this relation.

During thefe thirtie years, we have gone about all *China*, and founded Churches in feveral of the biggeft Towns, planting the *Chriftian Religion*, and uſing all diligence to difcover this truth, without having been able to obtain our purpoſe in the leaſt. It is true, we found a ſmall Bell, ſuch as is uſed at Maſſe, with Greeke letters round about it, and a *Croffe* very handſomely graved : But this may have been brought in lately from other parts, upon ſome occaſion, ſuch as fall out often in that Countrey : as it was likewiſe probable, that book of Eſops Fables in latin did, bound up after our manner, which I ſaw in the Province of *Nankim*. We then, confidering on one ſide the great ſcarcitie of evident ſignes for the proving a thing of ſo great importance, & which was Authorized by ſo many pens and powerfull reaſons, it was no marvell, if we were in doubt, and perplexitie : and on the other ſide holding the thing for infallible, as really it is, we made uſe of ſome other waies, to finde out other reaſons and motives, why we thus failed of all manifeſt ſignes, different from what the *Jew* had told us, diſcourſing with our ſelves in this manner.

When the *Tartars* conquered *China* there were many *Chriftians*, who had ſumptuous Churches, being much favoured by them, as appeareth by the relation of *Paulus Venetus*. Afterward when *Humvū* endeavoured to regain the Kingdom, and made warre upon the *Tartars*, the *Moores* tooke part with the *Chineffes*, and lent them their aſſiſtance for the gaining of the Kingdom, and of the victory which they obtained, in acknowledgement whereof they were allowed to remaine in *China*, with libertie of their Religion and of their *Mofches*. The *Chriftians* inclined to the *Tartars*, and they being overcome in that warre, the *Chriftians* alſo were deprived of their *Eſtates*, and ſome being ſlain, others changing their Religion, others flying and hiding themſelves in ſecret places, in a ſhort time, all ſigne and memory of our Religion periſhed, ſo that it was not poſſible for us to diſcover any thing, with all the diligence we uſed to that purpoſe.

To conclude, we remained very diſconſolate in the miſt of ſo great darkneſſe, when it pleaſed The only fountaine of light to draw us out of this obſcuritie, with a moſt clear Teſtimony, that the Goſpel had flouriſhed there many ages ſince : The thing fell out thus.

In

In the year 1625, as they were digging the foundation for to erect a certain building neere to the City of *Siganfù*, the Capitall Citie of the Province of *Xemsi*, the workemen lighted upon a table of stone above nine palmes long, and more than foure in breadth, and above one palme in thicknesse. The top of it, (that is, one of the extremities, or ends, of the length thereof,) endeth in the forme of a Pyramid, above two palmes in height, and above one palmes breadth at the Basis. On the plaine of this Pyramid, there is a well form'd *Crosse*, the extremities whereof end in flower-deluces, after the fashion of that *Crosse*, which is reported to have been found graved on the Sepulchre of the Apostle *S. Thomas* in the Towne of *Meliapor*, and as they were anciently painted in *Europe*, of which there are some yet to be seen at this day.

This *Crosse* is encompassed, as it were, with certain clouds, and at the foot thereof were three Traversed lines, each consisting of three great letters, being all such as are commonly used in *China*, very fairly graven: with the same sort of letters is engraven the whole *Superficies* of the stone, as also the thicknesse thereof, the which notwithstanding differeth from the rest, in that some of the letters graven thereon, are forraigne, neither were they knowne here at the first finding of it.

Scarcely had the *Chineffes* discovered and cleansed this notable piece of Antiquitie, when excited by the fervour of their naturall curiosity, they ranne to the Governour to give him notice of it, who being much joyed at this newes, presently came to see it, and caused it to be placed upon a faire Pedestall, under a small Arch, sustained by pillars at each end thereof, and open at the sides, that it might be both defended from the injuries of the weather, and also feast the eyes of such as are true Lovers of venerable Antiquity. He caused it also to be set within the circuit of a Temple belonging to the *Bonzi*, not farre from the place where it was taken up.

There was a wonderfull concourse of people to see this stone, partly for the Antiquity thereof, and partly for the novelty of the strange Characters, which was to be seen thereon: and as the knowledge of our Religion is at this day very much spread abroad in *China*, a *Gentile*, who was a great friend unto a grave Christian *Mandarine* named *Leo*, being present there, presently understood the mystery of that writing, and believing, it would be very acceptable to his friend, sent him a copy thereof, although he was distant above a month and a halfe voyage, the *Mandarine* dwelling in the City of *Hamcheu*, whither our fathers had retired themselves, by reason of the former persecution, whereof we shall speak in its proper place. This copy was received with a spirituall *Jubilee*, and many exterior demonstrations of joy, as an irrefragable Testimony of the *Ancient Christianity* in *China*, which had been so much desired and sought after: for no lesse was contained in this writing, as we shall shew anon.

Three years after in the year 1628 some of our fathers went into that Province in the company of a *Christian Mandarine*, who had occasion to go thither. They founded a Church and house in the capitall City thereof for the service of our good God, that he, who was pleased to discover so precious a memoriall of the possession taken in that Country by his divine law, would also facilitate the restitution thereof in the same place. It

was

was my good fortune to be one of the first, and I esteemed it a happy abode, in that I had the opportunity to see the stone, and being arrived I took no thought for any thing else. I saw it and read it, and went often to read, behold, and consider it at leisure, and above all, I did much admire, that being so ancient, it should be so entire, and have the letters so plainly and neatly graven.

See the Syriack inscription explained by Kirkes in his Prodrom: Copt cap. 3. pag. 73.

On the thicknes of the sides thereof, it hath many *Chinesse* letters, which containe many names of the *Priests* and *Bishops* of that time. There are also many other letters, which were not then knowne, for they are neither Hebrew nor Greek: and (for as much as I now understand) they containe the same names, that if peradventure some strangers, might not understand the letters of the Countrey, they might perhaps be better acquainted with those of a forraigne extraction.

Passing by *Cocchine* I came to *Cranganor*, where is the Residence of the *Archbishop* of *Costa*, to consult about these letters with father *Antoni Fernandes* one of our societie, who is very skilfull in the books and writings of those ancient Christians converted by *S. Thomas*. He told me the letters were *Syriack*, and the very same which are used there at this day.

But let us come now to the inscription of our *Marble* which no doubt, ere this hath raised an appetite in the reader to know it.

Those three lines, which are at the foot of the *Crosse*, each consisting of three letters, as we have said, being faithfully translated, as also all the rest, as neere as possibly I could, say thus.

*A Relation in the Praise and eternall memorie, of the law of
the light of truth brought from Judea, and
preached in China.*

See another Translation somewhat differing from this in Kirchers, Prodrom. Copt cap. 3 pag. 53.

THe writing is graved on the plaine side of this stone in its proper letters, placed in lines running from top to bottom after the *Chinesse* fashion. The first line, which is the shortest saith thus.

I *A Prologue made by the Priest of the Kingdom of Iudea named Kim Lim*. The rest of the inscription in a magnificent *Oriental* stile, containeth that which followeth.

II *Oh how true and profound is the eternall, and the incomprehensible most spirituall speaking of time past, he is without beginning, and of time to come he is without end, and alwaies in the same perfection. He tooke nothing, and with it he made all. He is a principall, consisting of Trinitie and Unitie, yet without any reall principle. The Lord Olooyu. He made the foure parts of the world in figure of a Crosse. He moved the Chaos and made the two principles. There was an alteration made in the Abyffe, and heaven and earth appeared. Nature at the beginning was pure, and exempt from disordinate passions, and the heart was cleane, without the unrulinesse of the appetites.*

III *Man came afterward to fall into the deceits of Satan, who covering with words the mischief he had plotted, perverted the innocence of the first man. From this principle sprang 365 Sects, which by reason they were so many did one drive away the other, and of all of them was made a net, wherein the world was caught. Some chose the creatures and appropriated Divinity to them: others were plunged in that error of thinking that all is nothing, and ends in nothing.*
Others

Others make sacrifices to invite good fortune with Others counterfeit vertue to deceive the world. The understanding corrupted with errors, and the will with passions, are altogether obscured. Men walked forwards without ever arriving at the end they aimed at. The world was all in a miserable combustion. Man still multiplied the darknesse, and loosing his way, wandred long time in it, without finding the truth.

IV. Then the Messias, one of the three persons, covered his true Majesty and making himself a man, appeared unto the world. An Angell came to manifest the Mystery, and a Virgin brought forth the Holy one. A Starre appeared, which gave notice of his birth to those of the Kingdome of Pozu: They came to offer him Tribute, and all was done according to what had been foretold by the foure and twenty Saints. He published to the world the most pure law. He purified their customes, and rectified the faith. He cleansed the world. He perfected verue, and therein founded the three vertues. He opened the way to life and shut up that of death. He manifested the bright day, and banished obscure darknesse. He conquered the obscure seate, at what time the devill remained wholly subdued, and succoured with his mercy the sinking world, that men might ascend to the habitations of light. After he had perfected his works, he ascended into the heavens at Middy. There remained 27 books of holy Scripture. There was opened the gate to Conversion by means of that water, which cleanseth, and purifieth. His Ministers made use of the Holy Crosse, they made their abode no more in one place than in another, that they might illuminate the whole world. The world being thus reduced unto Union, men did walke after their example, and thus did they open the way of life and glory.

V. They suffered their beard to grow, and did shew by this means, that they were like other men in their externall part. They cut their haire, even to the roots, upon the top of their head, and by this they shewed, that they had no internall wordly affections. They kept no servants, the Noble and the common men were with them the same thing. They tooke no riches from men. They gave to the poore that which they had. They fasted and watched to bring the flesh into subjection to the spirit. Seaven times a day they offered sacrifices of praise, by which they helped the living and the dead. Every seaventh day they did offer. They purified their hearts to receive the holy innocence. The true law hath no name that doth well suite with it, and that is able to explaine the excellency thereof, therefore because it wanteth another name, we will call it The law of Brightnesse. The law, if it be not holy, cannot be called great: and if holinesse be not answerable to that which the law teacheth, it may not have that name. But in this law the holinesse correspondeth to the law, and the law to the holinesse.

VI. If there be not Kingly Persons to favour it, the law cannot well be propagated, if they receive not the law, they cannot grow truly great. When they and the law do agree, presently the world is enlightened. By this means, at the time, when a King named Tai Zum Veu Hoam did governe with famous prudence and sanctitie, there came from Judea a man of high vertue, by name Olopuen, who being guided by the clouds brought the true doctrine. And in the year Chin Quom Kieufu he arrived at the Court. The King commanded the Colao Fam K'zulin, that he should go and meet him as farre as the West, and that he should treat him as his guest with all manner of kindnesse. He caused this doctrine to be translated in his palace, and seeing the law to be true, he powerfully commanded

commanded it should be divulged through the Kingdome, and presently after, he sent forth a royall patent, which contained that which followeth.

The true law hath no determinate name. The Ministers thereof go about in every part to teach it unto the world, having no other aim, but to be profitable to those that live in it. In the Kingdome of Tachin, this Olopuen, being a man of great vertue, hath brought from so remote a Countrie Doctrines and Images, and is come to place them in our Kingdome. Having well examined that which he proposeth, we find it to be very excellent, and without any outward noise, and that it hath its principall Foundation even from the Creation of the World: his doctrine is brief, neither doth he found his truth in superficial appearances; it bringeth with it the salvation and benefit of men: wherefore I have thought it convenient, that it should be published through our Empire.

He commanded the Mandarines of this Court of *Nimsam*, that they should build there a great Church, with 21 Ministers, weakening by that meanes the Monarchie of *Chen Olao Fu*, head of the sect of *Tauzu*; which was carried in a black Chariot toward the West: so, the great *Tam* being enlightened together with *Tao*, the Holy Gospel came into *China* and a little while after, the King commanded, that *Olopuen* his Picture should be painted on the wals of the Temple, where it shineth, and his memorie will alwayes shine in the World.

VII According to the records of the Empires of *Ham* and *Guei* the Kingdome of *Tachin* bordereth Southward upon the red Sea, and Northward on the Mountaines of Pearls, Westward on the Forest *Delle Fule Per Li Santi*, Eastward on the Countrie of *Cham Fum*, and the dead water. The Countrie produceth a Lake Asphaltitis of fire, Balsome, Pearles and Carbuncles: it hath no robbers, but all live in joyfull peace. The Gospel only is allowed in that Kingdome: and honours are conferred only on those that are vertuous. Their houses are great, and all is illustrious by their order and good customes.

VIII The great Emperour *Cao Zum*, the Sonne of *Tai Zum*, continued with good decorum the intention of his Grand Father, enlarging and adorning the works of his Father. For he commanded, that in all his Provinces, Churches should be built, and honours conferred on *Olopuen*, bestowing upon him the Title of Bishop of the great law, by which law he governed the Kingdome of *China* in great peace, and the Churches filled the whole countrie with the prosperitie of preaching.

IX In the year *Xim Lie* the *Bonzi* of the Sect of the *Pagods* using their wonted violence, did blaspheme this new and holy law, in this place of *Tum Chen*: and in the year *Sien Tien*, some particular Persons in *Sigan*, with laughter and disparagement did mock at it.

X Then one of the chief of the Priests, called *John*, and another of great vertue, named *Kie Lie*, with some others of their Countrie, Priests of great fame, being disingaged from the things of the world, began to take up again that excellent net, and to continue the thred, which was now broken. King *Hi ven Zum Chi Tao* commanded five little Kings to come in person to the happie house, and to set up Altars. Then in the year *Tien Pao*, the pillar of the law, which had been cast down for a while began to

to grow great : King *Taciam Kium* gave command to *Caolie Sic* that the Pictures of five Kings his ancestours should be placed in the Churches, with a hundred Presents to honour the solemnitie. Although the great beards of the Dragon, were as farre off, yet could they lay hands on their Bowes and their Swords. The brightnesse which floweth from these Pictures, maketh them seem, as if the Kings themselves were present. In the third year of *Tien Pao*, the Priest *Kieho* was in *India*, who guided by the starres came to *China*, & beholding the Sunne, came to the Emperour, who commanded that *John*, and *Paul*, and other *Priests* should be joyned unto him, to exercise Holy works in *Kim Kim*, a place within the palace. Then were hung up in Tables in the Churches the Kings letters richly adorned, by publique order, with red and blew colours, and the Kings pen filled the emprines : it mounted on high, and transcended the Sun; his favours and donatives may be compared to the tops of the Mountaines of the South; and the abundance of his benefits is equall to the bottom of the eastern Sea. Reason is not to be rejected; there is nothing which the Saints cannot do; and their deeds are worthy of memorie. For this cause king *Sozum Ven Mim* commanded, that Churches should be built in this *Limou*, and in five Cities. He was of an excellent nature, and opened the Gate to the common prosperitie of the Kingdome, by which meanes the affaires of the Empire began to flourish again.

XI King *Taizum Venou* caused happie times to return again; doing things without labour and trouble: alwayes at the feast of the nativitie of Christ he sent Heavenly perfumes to the Royall Churches, to honour the Ministers of this holy law. Truly, heaven giveth beautie and profit to the world, and liberally produceth all things. This King imitated heaven, and therefore he knew how to sustaine and nourish his subjects.

XII King *Kien Chum Xim Xin Venou* used eight wayes of government for to reward the good and chastise the wicked, and nine wayes to renew the estate of the Gospel. Let us pray to God for him, without being ashamed of it. He was a man of much vertue, humble, and desirous of peace; and ready to forgive his neighbour, and to assist all men with charitie. These are the steps of our holy law : to cause the winds and the raines to retire at their seasons ; that the world should live in peace, men be well governed, and affaires well established; that the living should prosper, and the dead be in happinesse; all this proceeds from our Faith.

XIII The King gave many honourable Titles in his Court to the Priest *Y Su*, a great Preacher of the Law, and also a garment of a red colour, because he was peaceable, and took delight in doing good to all. He came from as farre off into *China*, from the Country of *Vam Xe Chi Chim*. His vertue surpassed our three famous Families; he enlarged the other sciences perfectly. He served the King in the Palace, and afterward had his name in the Royall book. The little King of *Fuen Yam*, who had the Title of *Chum Xulim*, and called himself *Cozum*, served at first in the warres of these parts of *Sofam*. King *Sozum* commanded *Y Su* that he should assist *Cozum* very much above all the rest : neither did he for this change his ordinarie custome; being the Nails and Teeth of the Common-Wealth; the Eyes and Eares of the Army. He knew well how to distribute his re-

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venue;

venue; he was not sparing in any thing: he offered a precious Gift, called *Poli*, to the Church of this place of *Lintiguen*: he gave Golden Carpets to that of *Cie Ki*. He repaired the old Churches, and established the house of the law, adorning the chambers and galleries thereof, making them shine like flying lights; he laid out his whole strength upon works of charitie: every year he assembled the Priests of the foure Churches, serving them with a good heart, and making them honourable entertainment for the space of fifty daies; he fed the hungrie, cloathed the naked, cured the sick, and buried the dead.

XIII In the time of *Ta So*, with all his parsimonie, there was not such goodnesse, as this to be seen: but in the time of this law we see such men, who do such good works as these. For this reason have I graved this Stone, that thereby they might be published.

I say then; that the true God had no beginning, but being pure and quiet, was alwayes after the same manner: he was the first *Artificer* of the *Creation*, he uncovered the earth, and elevated the Heaven. One of the three Persons made himself man for our eternall salvation: he ascended like the Sunne on high, and defeated darknesse: in every thing he did discover the profound *Truth*.

XV The illustrious King, being really the first of the first, making use of a fit time, put a stop to mens invention: the heaven was dilated, and the earth extended. Most bright is our law: the which, when *Tam* came to the Kingdome, and propagated the doctrine, and builded Churches, was as a *Barque*, both for the living and the dead, and gave rest to the whole world.

XVI *Cao Zum* following the example of his Grand-Father, built new Churches. The beautifull Temples of peace filled the whole earth. The true law was illustrated; he gave a title of honour to the *Bishop*; and men enjoyed repose.

XVII The wise King *Hi Pin Zum* followed the right way; the royal Tables were illustrious; the Kingly letters shone therein. The Pictures of the Kings gave light on high, and all the people did reverence them; and all men had joy and gladnesse.

XVIII When *So Zum* reigned, he came in person to the Church. The *Holy Sunne* did shine, and the bright cloudes swept away the darknesse of the night: Prosperitie was united to the Royall family; misfortunes ceased, the heat of dissensions was abated: he quieted the rumours, and he renewed our Empire.

XIX King *Taizun* was obedient; in vertue equall to heaven and earth: he gave life unto the people, and advancement to their affaires: he exercised works of charitie; he offered perfumes to the Church. The *Sunne* and *Moone* were united in his person.

XX When King *Kien Chum* reigned, he did illustrate famous vertue; and with his armes restored peace to the foure seas: and with his learning he pacified 10000 confines. As a torch he did enlighten the secrets of men, he saw all things as in a glasse: He received the Barbarians, who all took rules from him.

XXI The law is great and perfect, and extendeth it selfe to all things, desiring

desiring to frame a name for it, I cannot but call it, *The Divine Law*. Kings know best to dispose their affaires, I, who am a subject, can only cause them to be recited on this rich stone, for to magnifie our great felicitie.

XXII In the Empire of great *Tam*, the second year of *Kien Chum*, the seaventh day of the Month of Autumane, was this stone erected. *Nin Cin* being *Bishop*, and Governing the Church of *China*. The *Mandarine*, called *Liu Sicuyen* entitled *Chaoylan* (in which office before him was *Tai Chen Su Sic Kan Kiun*) graved this stone with his owne hand.

This is the *Interpretation* of that *Inscription*, translated as faithfully as we could possibly, out of the *Chinesse* Phrase.

It will not be impertinent now to make some *Annotations* upon the text, having forborne on purpose to do it before, that I might not breake the thread of the discourse, and therefore we will take the *Paragraphs* in order, noting the words which we will explaine, and giving some advertisement upon them.

I *Giudea*. This word is written iust thus without any other difference, but that the Characters are *Chinesse*. The same is found also in the other words or names, of *Satanas* and *Messias*, which are in the iii and iiii *Paragraphs*.

II *Olooyu*. This word is written iust thus in the stone, and it is probable he meant *Eloi* which is a name of God. *The two principalls*, of which he speaketh afterward, are matter and forme according to their *Phylosophie*.

III *The kingdom of Pozu*, in the *Chinesse* maps, lyeth East of *Judea*. *The 24 Saints* may well be, *The soure great Prophets*, *The twelve small Prophets*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Job*, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David* and *Zacharias*, the father of *John the Baptist*, who put together, make up that number, and have spoken the plainest concerning the coming of Christ.

IV *He conquered the seat*, &c. It seemeth that he speaketh of the Redeemers descent into hell. *Twenty seaven books*. It is probable he meaneth the new Testament, that is, *The foure Evangelists*, *The Acts of the Apostles*, *The fourteen Epistles*, of *S. Paul*, one of *S. James*, two of *S. Peter*, three of *S. Iohn*, one of *S. Jude*, and the *Revelation*.

V *Seaventimes a day they offered* &c. He seemeth to speak of the seaven Canonickall houres. *Every seaventh day* &c. Signifieth the sacrifice of the Masse, which was celebrated every Lords day.

VI. VII. *The year of Chim Quom* &c. According to the computation of their Histories, it is the year of our *Redemption* 636. *Weakening the Monarchie* &c. This clause is an Elogie given to that Prince by the Authour of this *Inscription*. *Was carried in a black chariot toward the West* &c. It is to be understood, that it went away out of *China*.

VIII *Caozum*. It appeareth by their books, that he reigned in the year of our Lord 651.

IX *Ximlie*. According to the Christian Computation, was the year 699. *Tumcheu*. The opinion of the Translatour is, that it was a particular place in the Province of *Honam*. *Sien Tien* is the year 712. *Sicham*, Called at present *Sigam*, was the ancient Court in the Province of *Xemsi*.

X *King Hi Ven Zum*, &c. Began to raigne in the year 714. *Tien Pao* lived

lived in the year 745. *Cao Lie Sic*, is the name of an Eunuch, who was very powerfull with that King. *The Beards &c.* This clause is another Elogie (made by the Authour) of those Kings. *The Dragon &c.* According to the interpreter, this is an ancient fable of that Kingdom, which relateth, That one of their Kings rid through the ayre mounted upon that beast, which his subjects, who accompanied him, had laden with their armes, but they which came after plucked off the beard of the *Dragon*, and took some of the armes; that these might remain by them as a memoriall of that Prince, whom they did fancy to be present with them in these reliques. This fable might haply take its Originall from the custome which their Kings have, of embroydering *Dragons* on their garments, and other things, which belong to them. *The third year of Tien Pao &c.* falleth out, according to our account, to be the year 745. *Sozun Ven Mim*, reigned in the year 757.

XI. *Tai Zun Vemvu*, began to raigne in the year 764.

XII *Kien Chum Xim*, was King in the year 781.

XIII *Vam Xe Chi Chim* is a place in the Country of the Pagods, and signifieth a remote Countrie. *Poli*, saith the interpreter, is some vessel of glasse.

XIV. *Taso* was a *Bonzo* of the sect of the Pagods, who made a great assembly of the *Bonzi*, to treat of the publike affaires of that religion, and tooke care to lodge them, and provide all necessaries for them.

XIX *The Sunne and Moone &c.* Signifieth, that all obeyed that King.

XXII *Kien Chum*, was the year 782. In the other *Paragraphs* whereon we have made no *Annotations*, there is nothing of obscuritie to require it.

It appeareth then evidently, by the testimony of this venerable Antiquity, that the *Christian Religion* was planted in *China* by the means above-said, in the year of *Christ* 636, neverthelesse, it is not to be imagined, that it was not formerly brought thither by the preaching of the Apostles, who as the holy Scripture saith, did disperse themselves through the whole earth: but, as it happened in severall other Countries, that after it had once been propagated there by them, it came in time to be extinguished, and was againe renewed by the industry of others; so it fell out in *India*, where *S. Thomas* the Apostle had once preached the Gospel; but all memory thereof being lost, about the year 800, a rich *Armenian Christian*, called *Thomas* the *Canaanite* restored the ancient Religion in the Citie of *Mogo Doven*, or *Patana*, repairing the Churches, which had been formerly built by that holy Apostle; and erecting others. And upon this occasion of the likenesse of their names, many have mistaken them to be all built by the first *Thomas*. The same thing may probably have happened in *China*, where the Gospel being received, presently after it, began to be published to the world; and being afterward extinguished, it was introduced again a second time, whereof this inscription maketh mention; and lastly a third time, whereof we purpose to treat in the second part. It seemeth necessarie thus to state the matter, that we may not derogate from the Testimonie of those grave Authours, whom I have formerly cited; how *St. Thomas the Apostle* did preach in *China*, and converted it to the true Religion.

The

The time wherein the memorie of the Holy Apostles preaching was lost, was not much different both in *India* and *China*; for by severall conjectures it appeareth, that *Thomas* the *Cananite* renewed it in *India* in the eighth Century after Christ; and by this stone it is manifest, that it was in the seventh Centurie after Christ, when it was preached in *China*: and therefore without much difficultie it may be Concluded, that this was not the first establishment of the Christian Religion there; but rather a re-establishment of it.

The end of the first part.

THE





THE SECOND PART,

VVherein is contained

The Christianitie of the Kingdome

OF

CHINA.

CHAP. 1.

Of the first beginnings of the Preaching of the Gospel in China.



According to the opinion of *Socrates*, he was to be esteemed no lesse injurious, who spake against the Sunne, than he, who should denie the beautie of the light thereof, with which it maketh the day, and of that which is the fruit therof, as *Tertul.* allegorizeth it, that is, the flower. It would be no lesse a fault, but rather more unpardonable in him, who treating of the conversion of *China*, should deny *Franciscus Xaverius* to have bin the flower of that day of Grace, which, having bin set there for so many ages, is now risen again upon the Gentiles of that *Monarchie*. He was the first who came to the gates therof with that Treasure of the holy Gospel, after he had communicated it to so many severall Kingdomes and Provinces. The glorious Saint *Leo* speaking of the Apostle *St. Peter* saith, *Fam Populos, qui in circumcisione crediderunt, erudierat : jam Antiochenam Ecclesiam fundaverat : jam Pontum, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Asiam atque Bithyniam, legibus Evangelicae Prædicationis impleverat : nec aut dubius de proventu operis, aut de spatio sua ignarus ætatis, Trophæum Crucis Christi Romanis arcibus inferebat.*

All

All India doth confesse no lesse of their Apostle, to whom the bounds of the East, though very large, seemed but narrow, having already instructed in the faith the principall Cities thereof Goa and Cochin, having planted the Gospel on the coasts of Pescaria, having converted the Country of Travancor, instructed Cambaia, and propagated the faith at Malacca, preached the true religion at Macazar, & the Molucche Islands; and finally, converted the King of Bungo in Giappon, and filled all that Kingdom with the knowledge of the law of Christ; yet still the desire of a greater harvest, and to profit other Nations, suffered him not to rest. *Studium proficiendi aliis, oti illum impatientem reddidit*, as Robertus Abbas saith of another Labourer in the Gospel: *unde nec aut dubius de propectu operis, aut de spatio sue ignarus etatis Trophaeum Crucis Christi Sinicis arcibus inferebat.*

This was his ayme, these were his hopes and desires, with which he undertooke the voyage of China, when being arrived at Sanciano, where the Divine Providence had appointed he should end his daies; (that being true which Tertullian saith, *Deus omnium conditor nil non ratione providit, disposuit, ordinavit.*) And the Lord being well appayed with the intention of his servant, and the ardent desires which he had, to sacrifice his life in this enterprize, as Abraham had to sacrifice the life of his sonne Isaac, causing him to ascend up into Mount Sancian, (as he did Moses into Mount Nebo, after he had shewed him the land he so much desired to conquer) *Mortuus est, jubente deo*: the good man died by the ordination and appointment of Heaven; after he had seen and shewed unto his Sons that land, which he had gained (like another Jacob for Joseph) with the bow of his will, and the arrowes of his desires, leaving them for an inheritance the conquest thereof, together with his hereditary spirit, which his sonnes and followers having received (in part,) made their assault, and at length entered this place; and it is now about fifty years that they have kept it with many labours, travels, persecutions, imprisonments, Bastinadoes, and in a word, *Egentes, Angustiati, Afflicti*; These being the armes with which the standard of the Christian faith is set up in the Kingdomes of the Gentiles, and by means whereof (together with the grace of God,) so many men have been converted unto Christianitie, as you shall finde in this following relation.

After my returne into Europe, and that my intention of seeking Labourers for this vine-yard was once divulged, presently there were so many pretenders, who made suit to me to be received, that there is scarce a Province of our society, from whence I have not received many letters from severall of the fathers, wherein they did not only offer themselves, but made it their most earnest request, that I would accept of them, to serve as Souldiers in this enterprize; as if the trouble and paines they were to suffer in these long and dangerous voyages, and the persecutions they are so certaine to undergo in this exercise, were to this undertaking, as the prickles are to Roses, whereof S. Ambrose saith, That they are *Amatoria quaedam illectamenta*. And in the Province of Portugall, as being most conveniently scituated for this voyage, only out of the two Colledges of Conimbra and Eborac, I had a list of 90 persons, all so ready and desirous to labour in this Mission, that many of them, not being content to declare their desires by ordinary

ordinary words written with pen and inke, have sent me very long letters concerning their holy pretention, all written and signed with thier owne blood, witnessing in this manner, that they had a holy courage, that could despise the threats of Martyrdom; offering cheerfully to the Lord that little blood, as a Testimony of the great desire they had to shed it all for his sake.

Who now can doubt, whether these be not the marvellous effects of that spirit and zeale which *Franciscus Xaverius* communicated to them, occasioning inwardly in the breast of each of them, that which a little while since he did outwardly in that great Champion *Marcellus Spinellus*, by sending him to *Giappon*, where he crowned that glorious enterprize with his blood.

Sancian is one of those many Islands, which, on that side, give a beginning to the Kingdom of *China*: it is a high mountain covered with trees, and though very pleasant, yet un-inhabited. When the *Portugheesses* first began their trade with *China*, this Island served them for a Port, and there they built houses with straw, like huts, which served them only for the time of their Negotiation, & whilest they expected their merchandise; but as soone as that came, they abandoned that habitation, and presently setting saile, returned into *India*. Foure and fiftie miles from thence, more within the Kingdom, there is another Island named *Gau Xan*, and by the *Portugheesses* *Macao*, it is but small, and so full of rocks, that it is very easie to be defended, and very opportune for the rendezvous of *Pyrats* and robbers; as indeed it was at that time, when many of them having got together in that place, did much infest all the Islands thereabouts. The *Chineesses* were in consultation how they might remedy that mischiefe, but whether it was that they wanted courage to undertake it, or that they chose rather to have it done without running any danger themselves, and at other mens cost, knowing well the valour of the *Portugheesses*, they set them upon the enterprize, promising them, that if they could drive out the *Pyrats*, it should be granted to them for an habitation.

The *Portugheesses* accepted of the condition with much pleasure and contentment: and though they were but few and much inferiour in number to the *Pyrats*, nevertheless being more skilfull in military affaires, they put themselves in order, and set upon them with so much courage, that without the losse of one man on their owne party, though with great slaughter of the enemy, they presently became Masters, both of the field and Island. They began presently upon this to build, every one taking that place and ground which seemed good to him: But that which cost nothing at first, came after to be sold very deare, and at so high a rate at this present, that it would hardly be beleaved, how much the least piece of ground to build on in that City would cost. For, trade beginning to faile every where in *India*, doth here encrease still every day, and the Inhabitants are growne so rich, that the covetousnesse of the *Hollanders* have made them have a great longing to it, and did once attempt to take it.

In the moneth of *June* 1622. Fourteen saile of *Hollanders* came into that Port, with so much resolution and assurance to take that City, that they

they had already divided (in their thoughts) the principall parts thereof among themselves, and many Captaines and old Souldiers came along in this Fleet, only out of hopes to have their former services paid them here, and to settle themselves in a condition of ease and plenty after all the hardships they had endured. They landed 700 men on Midfomer Eve, 300 of them staid upon the shore to guard the Cannon, the other 400 having drawn up themselves into a Squadron, went to the Hill of our *Lady della Guida*, marching towards the Citie with so great order and cheerfulness, as if they had the victorie already in their hands.

They were no sooner discovered from the Mountain of *S. Paul*, but they were received with two or three salutes from the cannon on that side, so well levelled, that beginning to abate of their fury, they left the direct way toward the Citie, and turned on the left hand toward the Mountain of our *Ladie del buon porto*: and because there was a Garrison there, they kept off about twice Musket-shot, and fortified themselves on the sides of the Hill where *St. Maries Church* stands. But the *Portugheffes* discharged upon them so seasonably, and with so much valour and courage, that they put them to flight, and made them run down the hill toward the Sea, where the other Souldiers stood by the ships. They fled in so much disorder and confusion, that although there were above 300. there to guard their Artillerie, who did succour them with fresh Men, and encourage them to face about, yet all was in vain, and so both the one and the other forced to runne into the water up to the chin, to get into their boates: and these scaped well; for many went over head and eares; and a barque by reason of the confusion and disorder of those that got into her, sunk down right, and above 400 men were drowned. The number of the wounded, is not known; but it is conjectured, they could not be few: for whilest they embarked, our Muskettiers, who stood upon a hill just over them, played continually upon them. Of the *Portugheffes* there were slain only three or four, and some Servants. The *Hollanders* being ill satisfied with this entertainment, presently set saile, and durst never since hazard themselves upon the like enterprife.

This was the cause of fortifying the Town of *Macao*, with a wall round about it, having six *Bulwarks*: that of *St. Paul*, which serveth as a cittadell, standing higher than the Town, having fifteen pieces of Cannon, a Court of Guard, and a Castellan belonging to it. That of the Port, having fourteen piece of cannon, among which are six great ones, that carry each of them a ball of 50 pound weight, and another Court of Guard. The third Bulwark is that of our *Ladie del buon porto*, with eight piece of cannon. The fourth, that of *St. Francis* toward the Mountain, with other eight piece of Cannon. The fift is, that of *St. Peter*, with five piece of Cannon. The sixt is, that of *St. John*, with three piece of Cannon. And because the Mountain of our *Ladie della Guida* commandeth both the Bulwark of *St. Paul* and the Citie, it was fortified in the year 1637 in the same manner as the Rock of *Charil* is: it hath ten great brasse Cannon.

The Citie is not great, there are in it about 900 or 1000 *Portugheffes*, who are all rich, and live very splendidly: there are many *Chinese* Christians, who are cloathed, and live after the *Portugheffe* fashion; there

are also *Chineses* who are *Gentiles*, and are cloathed, and live after the fashion of their own Countrey: all the Artizans of the Citie consist of this last sort, as also the Shop-keepers and Retailers &c. and are in all about 5 or 6000.

There resideth also in the same Citie an Auditor, who is sent thither by the King of *Portugal*, and is superintendent of the traffique and commerce of that Isle. The trade with *Giappon* (not to speak of that of *Manila*, which is worth very much) yeeldeth the King every year, for his rights and customs at ten *per cent.* many thousands of Crownes *per annum.* In the year 1635 it was worth to him 14000 *Taus*, which are better than Crowns.

The Citie spendeth every year, one year with another, in their Artillerie, Gunpowder, and the charges of their walls, and other things belonging to their Militia, (as appeareth by the books of publique accounts) above 40000 Crownes.

The rights and customs of the Faire of *Cantone*, at 6 and 7 *per cent.* importeth about 40 or 50000 Crowns. The Navigation to *Giappon* with the Present which is sent to the King, and other Presents to the *Toni* of that Island, costeth between twenty and five and twenty thousand Crownes. Their house of *Mercy* standeth them every year in 8 or 9 thousand Crownes. They maintain two Hospitals, three parish Churches, five Monasteries, foure of Men and one of Women, besides the continuall Almes, which they distribute to the poor Christians of those Countries; and particularly to them of *China*: and although the ordinarie Almes, which the King of *Portugall* alloweth them from *Goa* hath not been paid these 19 years, yet are they wel relieved by the liberalitie of the Citizens of *Macao*. I doubt not but the Lord doth favour this Citie for their many Almesdeeds, and for the great care they take about the Service and Worship of God.

Finally, this Citie of *Macao* is a continuall Seminarie, wherein are educated and brought up many of those Labourers, who cultivate not only *China* and *Giappon*, but also all other Christianities of the Neighbouring Kingdomes. It is also a Sanctuarie and place of Refuge, where, in times of troubles and persecutions, they may all shelter themselves, as it were in another *Moab*, being upon all occasions, *Refugium à Facie Vastatoris.*

One of the Convents of this Citie is a Colledge belonging to our Societie. There are commonly between threescore and fourescore persons in it, more or lesse, according to the number of the persons they receive, or send away. For all *Missions* being furnished out of them, their number must needs be very uncertain. There are in that Colledge two Lectures in Divinitie; one of Cases of Conscience; one course of superiour studies; two classes of Latin; one schoole for children, so numerous, that the lower forme thereof containeth above 90 children of the *Portugheses*, and people of that Countrey.

Out of this House, (which at the beginning was very small, and the labourers there very few,) first came the Souldiers of this enterprise. Father *Alexander Valignan* of happy memorie, who was then Visitour, resolved to send some of the Fathers into *China* to endeavour to convert that vast Kingdome to the faith of Christ; when presently the first difficulties began at the Colledge it selfe, a manifest prognostication of the many

many that should happen in the progresse of the work, and execution of the undertaking. For to some of the Fathers, by reason of the knowledge and experience they had of the Kingdome of *China*, this enterprize seemed not only difficult, but also rash and unadvised, wherefore they advised the Visiour not to set his mind upon it. But our Lord, who bringeth wonderfull things to passe from weak and troublesome beginnings, would have this design put in execution.

Father *Michael Roggiero* was the first, who was named to take paines in this conquest: he was followed by the Fathers *Franciscus Passius*, *Antonius de Almeida Duarte*, *Matthæus Riccius*, and others, who came after and helped on the work, and like the foundation-stones of that building, sustained the first weight thereof and greater difficulties, labours and troubles, than any *Missions* of our societie had ever felt. For the difficulties in new *Missions* into Kingdomes so remote and different; from our *Europe* in language, custome, conversation, diet &c. are not ordinarie; neither can they be few. But those in the *Mission* of *China* do far exceed all others. The language seemeth more difficult than any in the world, being all of *Monosyllables*, curt and æquivocall: and in this difficulty the Fathers were without any Master to teach them, without any interpreter to explain what was said to them; so that they neither understood others, nor others them; but by force of diligence and unwearied paines they went on conquering and gaining ground: and although they never arrived at any perfection in the language, or good accent in pronouncing it; yet they discovered the mysteries of that tongue, and set them down in so plain a forme, that they made it much more easie for those who came after them. To this may be added the painfull study of their letters, which of it selfe alone is a businesse of incredible labour, they being so many and so various: and in this *Mission*, (contrarie to what is done in others) the Fathers do study them all with so much diligence, that they have not only learned to write, and to read their books very perfectly, but do also compose others themselves, and have of late published many to the great advancement of *Christianity*: and in truth, the *Fathers* in *China* do justly deserve this praise, that that language being so hard, and they having the letters too to be studied which are not very easie, yet they do speak that language much better, than any others do those, of their *Missions*; for of themselves they are able to catechise, preach, treat, and converse with the greatest *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, and to speak to the King himself, if there were occasion, without making use of any ones tongue, but their own; their endeavours in this particular being extraordinarie, and such, as are not used in other parts: and our Lord by his singular providence doth sweeten this labour, and season those difficulties they undergo for his sake with much joy and consolation. Moreover, there is to be a generall change throughout their whole bodies; in their beard and their haire, which they must suffer to grow very longe; in the fashion of their cloathes, in their manner of conversation, in their customes and behaviour, and all other things; which are as different, as they are remote from ours.

Besides all these ordinarie difficulties, (which are found more or lesse,

in all *Missions*) it is not to be beleev'd, how sharp a warre the devil hath raised up against this; endeavouring by the strength of difficulties and persecutions to make us desist from the enterprize: and it went so farre, that Father *Valignan* the Visitour, considering the great obstructions we found every where, the extraordinarie difficultie there was to enter, and the great trouble there was to stay there, how little good we could do there, and yet how much we suffered, resolved to call back the Fathers to *Macao*, to employ them in some other *Missions* of lesse danger and trouble, and where a greater profit of Soules might be made. But the Lord, who had otherwise ordained it for the good of his elect, would not suffer the Labourers to come away, and leave the work begun in that Kingdome, where it was to have so advantageous a progresse.

CHAP.2.

*Of the proceedings, and persecutions
of the Fathers, before they ar-
rived at Nankim.*

THE Fathers did still persevere in the Resolution they had taken to enter and settle themselves in *China*; and accordingly three times the same year they attempted with all diligence to make their entree, but were as often repulsed, and sent back out of the Kingdome, with that resentment and grief, which is easily imaginable they had, to find almost every spark of hope extinguished by such extraordinarie difficulties, as they found, and by that great aversion, the *Chineffes* had to admit of strangers.

I have been told, that about that time, Father *Valignan* looking one day out of a window of the Colledge of *Macao* toward the Continent, the good old man cried out with a loud voice, and the most intimate affection of his heart, speaking to *China*; *Ah Rock, Rock, when wilt thou open, Rock?* But (as there is no councill against God, who seeth and knoweth the times and moments of his divine Resolutions,) when the entrance seemed more shut up than ever, and more encompassed with difficulties, after so many attempts and endeavours had been frustrated, nay, after they had been sharply reprov'd by the *Vice-roy* of *Cantone*, and by publick order been sent back to *Macao*; then did the Lord our God open the gate by such meanes as were not to be imagined.

The Fathers had not been full seven daies returned to *Macao*; wholly despairing of the businesse, when there arriv'd a messenger from the governour of *Cantone*, named *Chi Fu*, bringing letters from the *Vice-roy*, wherein he invited the Fathers to *Xaokim*, the Capitall Citie of *Cantone*, where the same *Vice-roy* of the Provinces of *Cantone* and *Quamsi*, had his residence; offering them there a place for their Church and House.

The Fathers entred into *Xaokim* in September 1583. with no little joy to see

see themselves established in a moment, where, before with all their endeavours they could never so much as set their foot. They built a house and Church, and gave a beginning to their intention, by translating the ten Commandements, as well as they could, into the *Chinesse* language; and setting forth, how necessary the observance of them was. The worth of these new guests was more admired in the City, for their good works and holiness of life, than for their words, not being able yet to speak that language sufficiently; but almost continuall troubles and persecutions were never wanting to them. The covering of their house was so laden with stones by the insolence of the people from a neighbouring Tower, that they were in great danger of their lives: and, because a servant of the house laid hold of a little boy, and threatned to complaine of him, presently an accusation was set on foot against the Fathers, that they had misused the *Sonne* of a *Citizen*: but in the end they were cleared by evidence of the fact: soone after, other calumnies were raised against them, particularly against Father *Raggiero*, whom they accused of *Adultery*; but his innocence was soone cleared, it being proved, that he was at that time more than two months journey from the place, where that crime was said to be committed. Then did the people of *Xaokim* begin to throwing of stones againe, with which they did so ruine and batter the house, that the Fathers missed very little of being killed: all this while did their condition seeme like unto a tempestuous sea. But amongst so great tribulations and dangers, the Lord was pleased to send them some daies of peace and tranquillitie; and among so many thorns they gathered some roses, and some fruit of their labours: which was the reason that their sufferings did not seeme so grievous to them, neither did they undergo them without joy and delight, hoping to make a greater progresse, when the desired calme should happen. Neither were the Fathers wanting (particularly Father *Mattheus Riccius*,) by their knowledge in *Mathematiques*, and principally by a description of the world in a new *Mappe*, to give reputation to the affaires of *Europe*; and to make acquaintance and friendship with persons of qualitie; when behold, by the coming of a new *Vice-roy* there was so terrible a storme raised, that notwithstanding all the diligence and addressees which were made, not only by the Fathers, but also by their friends, it was impossible to finde any remedy, or to put a stop to the sentence, which that *Vice-roy* fulminated against the Fathers; which was, That they should all immediatly returne to *Macao*, without giving them any time of stay there, or suffering them to go into any other Country; but that they should presently depart, and should be brought precisely to *Macao*. They were forced to yeeld obedience, and so leaving some things belonging to the house in the hands of their friends, and carrying other things along with them, after they had made a short prayer unto God, recommending unto him that little flock, which they were forced to leave among Wolves without a shepherd, and after they had exhorted the Christians to continue steadfast in the faith, wherein they had been seven years instructed, they departed downe the current of the river; both the Christians, which remained there, as also the Fathers, who tooke their leave, weeping very much, & recommending each other to the divine Province and Protection.

When

When they were arrived at the *Metropolis* of *Canton*, the Admirall of the *Chinesse* Navie, or *Haitao*, who was to conduct them to *Macao*, was not to be found: where, while they stayed to expect him, they wrote to the Visitour in *Macao*, that after two or three daies they were to be banished by order of the *Vice-roy*: but they had hardly passed a day there, when they espied a boate coming toward them with all speed, sent from the *Vice-roy*, to invite them back againe to *Xaokim*. It seemed to them, that they were returned from death to life by the unexpected invitation; although they understood well enough, that they were called backe to undergo new troubles, no lesse than the former. When they were returned to the *Vice-roy* at *Xaokim*, he would have paid the charges the Fathers had been at in building their Church and house, which by no means they would suffer him to do; and (after severall contrasts) they obtained leave of him to dwell in another City belonging to his Government, called *Xaocheu*. With this permission the Fathers departed from *Xaokim* on the 15th. day of *August* 1589, and being after a few daies arrived at *Xaocheu*, they had enough to do to avoyd the lodgings, which were offered them in a *Monastrie* of *Bonzi*. At length by Gods assistance they were admitted into the City, and were well lookt upon by the *Magistrates*; they built a house and Church, and began to preach the Gospel with their whole endeavours. Notwithstanding that, they were ever accompanied with persecutions, contrasts and calumnies; and in truth, it is hardly to be beleaved, how many of these they did undergo, I did once reckon them up to satisfie my curiositie: counting those which are related in the History of Father *Trigaultius*, and others which are not set downe there, till the persecution of *Nankim*, I found them in all to be fifty foure, the greatest part were at the beginning, and in the Province of *Canton*, which as it is a passage to the rest, may be called the *Promontory of Torments*; so that as oft as we shall have occasion to mention it, there will alwaies recurre some new troubles and tempests.

Our servants were many times taken and *Bastinadoed* for no other occasion, but that they had defended themselves against assaults of the insolent people; and one time also brother *Sebastan Fernandes*, who went out to defend those innocents with reasons and prayers, was put to publique shame. But the persecution was worse, which brother *Francis Martines* suffered through a vaine suspicion they had, that he had attempted to raise a rebellion in *China*, and that he was a Magician: upon which occasion after he had been many times beaten and tormented, and after a tedious and noysome imprisonment, and in the end, after his last punishment by an unmercifull beating, being brought back into the prison, he died, a death so much the more glorious, by how much it was supported by an unspeakable patience, and for so holy an occasion, as the procuring the salvation of that people was. After that, brother *Francis Mendez*, going to the *Metropolis* of *Canton* upon occasion of businesse, and to help a servant of ours, who was kept there in prison, suffered very much: for being come into the prison, the *Gaoler* presently clapt Manacles upon him, and suspecting him to be a Priest, pulled off his cap, and searched whether his crowne was shaven or no: and finding no signe of any thing he could lay hold on,

only

only because he was a *Christian*, and belonged to the Fathers, he suffered him not to go out of the prison, till there were bestowed many cruell Bastinadoes on him. Likewise two Fathers going from *Canton* further up into *China*, that is, Father *Julius Alexis*, and another Father, were apprehended, and after very great sufferings set at libertie.

The Christian Religion began to make some progresse at our Residence of *Xaocheu*; and in another place neere unto it, named *Namhim*, whither Father *Matthaus Riccius* was gone, and had reduced some Gentiles to the sheepfold of Christ. But the businesse was so full of difficulties and dangers, that brother *Sebastian Fernandes*, (although a *Chinesse* by nation, (but brought up in *Macao* by his Parents who were *Christians*;) and who entred into our societie after he was growne a man, and a rich Merchant, and served therein many years, even to his death, with great paines to himselfe and a great example to all that Christianitie,) told the Father, we should do well to go to *Giappon*; seeing the Lord did favour that Kingdom with so great a conversion, and so many Baptismes, and spend our lives there where we might receive abundant fruit of our labours. But the Father, who had a more lively faith, and a hope better grounded, seemed to have answered him by the spirit of prophesie, that which afterwards came to passe, giving him hopes of more copious fruit, such as we find at this day: And even at that time also, within foure years, wherein he had cultivated that vine-yard, in spite of those great Tribulations, he made a good harvest of many *Christians*; who many times do prove the best in times of trouble and persecution: and there were some of them very eminent, with some of which I have since spoken and conversed, who seemed to me, to be like *Christians* of the *Primitive Time*; and by degrees there were many more also converted.

In the mean while about the year 1594 two persons of this House departed to a better life; for if the people of this Province are not good, the temper of the aire is much worse. Till this time, the Fathers had gone in the same garbe they entred in, with their beards and the crowne of their heads shaven, and their haire cut short, as we weare it here in *Europe*; and there also the *Bonzi*, or Priests of their Idols, who in that kingdom, contrarie to the custome of others, are in very mean esteem. But now they were better acquainted with the state of things there, it seemed to them to be more advantageous for the credit of our religion, as also for the preachers thereof, that they should take a habit different from the *Bonzi*: and that seeing they were inwardly unlike them, that they should no longer outwardly resemble them; especially, seeing that first outward form was a great impediment to hinder them from treating with *Decorum* and familiarity, with Officers and men of qualitie, who without the vesture of courtisie and habit of a *Letterato*, do by no means admit any one to familiar conversation with them. So that leaving their former garbe and habit, they took the other of *Letterati*, with a great applause of the *Christians* and their friends, as also of the *Magistrates*; and because they had taken no degree in their learning, they were accounted and esteemed, (as they are also at this day,) for *Letterati* of *Europe*; besides many other good advantages and effects which it produced.

In

In May the year following, Father *Mattheus Riccius*, went to *Nankim*, in the companie of a *Mandarine*, who was a grave Person and his friend, who went thither with commission to be General in the warre against the *Giapponeses* in the Kingdome of *Corea*; he wanted not troubles by the way, especially in a dangerous shipwrack which he suffered, the barque being overturned, and the Father falling into the water over head and eares, not having any skill in swimming, nor any hope of life. But the Lord assisted him with his paternal providence: for without knowing how it came, there he found a rope of the Barque in his hand, by which he was pulled up: nevertheless he lost his companion, who being carried away by the force and violence of the water, was never more seen.

At length he arrived at *Nankim*; but the houre of that famous Citie was not yet come. Wherefore although some friends there did desire to favour him; yet one, with whom he had contracted in *Cantone*, and whose favour he did now endeavour to gain, was not only wanting to him in what he requested, but was so far changed from what he was, that he put the Father in great danger; and was the occasion, that he was disgracefully sent out of the Citie; and all this upon no other account, but lest it should be said, that he was the occasion of the Fathers coming thither, contrarie to the lawes of *China*.

The Father departed from *Nankim*, and went into the Province of *Kiamfi*, which lieth between that of *Nankim* and that of *Cantone*, he was received into the Capitall Citie thereof, named *Nanchum*, and treated very kindly by the most considerable people there; and especially by a great Lord, named *Kien Gam Vam*, who was the Kings neer kinsman. He was also very courteously used by the *Vice-roy*, with no ordinarie demonstrations of kindnesse; which was none of the least occasions that a residence was founded in this City; then, Father *Riccus* using all diligence to obtain leave to set up a House there, the Lord provided him of a companion, named *Jacobus Socirus*, sent from *Macao* very opportunely to reside there; and then presently they purchased some few small houses in this City; but not without the usuall resistance and contradiction of the neighbourhood, as also from other parts; which in proceffe of time did so encrease, that this House may well compare with that of *Xaochen* for persecutions: for if the people of that City are bad, truly, they of this City are not very good. The Fathers were sometimes molested by the *Literati*; otherwhiles by the *Nobilitie*; of which sort there are many still residing in this City: they were troubled also by the people; and sometimes by the Christians themselves. For there is never wanting a Judas to raise persecution among the good disciples. Nevertheless, it pleased God to make that House, and Christianity there to flourish, and to bring into them many persons of qualitie; and particularly that neer Kinsman of the King, with his whole House and Familie; who by his holy life and other virtues did much edifie that Church. And though he had no children, while he was a Gentile, yet it pleased the Lord to send him many, after he was become a Christian. There were also many other Families converted, which, although they were inferiour to his in bloud, yet did they not come much behind him in Christian Pietie.

After

After that Father *Riccus* had a companion, to whose care he might leave that House recommended, he began to undertake afresh the enterprise of *Nankim*: and he had a good opportunitie offered him by a *Mandarine* of qualitie, and his friend, who took him along in his company. By this meanes he returned again to that City in the year 1598. and although at the beginning, by reason of the warre, which the *Giapponesses* made against the Kingdome of *Corea*, threatning also that of *China*, he found great difficultie to be admitted (for these two alwayes go together) yet at length it was facilitated by the good success of *Corea*, and the friendship of some persons of Qualitie, and of the *Vice-roy* himself; the Divine providence alwayes opening that way, which he knew was most secure.

CHAP. 3.

*Of what happened after, till the Fathers
entred into Pekim.*

FATHER *Matthæus Riccius* never ceased to endeavour a finall establishment of the Church in that Kingdome; which did wholly depend upon the entrance of the Fathers into the Royall City of *Pekim*, where the King and chief Court do reside: and so after he had assayed diverse meanes, at length he resolved to go thither in the company of the same *Mandarine* his friend, who had brought him to *Nankim*; and so he took no house at that time in *Nankim*. He departed then along with Father *Lazarus Cataneus* his companion, and two *Chineffes* who were Brethren, taking their way by water; which was above a moneths voyage, although the *Mandarine* got thither in a shorter time by land.

But at length being arrived at *Pekim*, without any hinderance or disturbance, the first thing they did, was to go waite upon their friend, who had caused them to come thither, and was arrived there before them. He received them with all kindnesse and civillie, and endeavoured to favour and assist them in every thing, & especially in recommending them to the acquaintance of an *Eunuch* his friend. The Fathers had brought with them some curiosities of *Europe*, to make a Present of them to the King, to wit, Two excellent Pictures Painted on Linnen cloath, the one of our *Saviour*, the other of the *B. Virgin*; an *Harpsicon*, an instrument which had never been heard; a striking Clock, a thing which had never been seen there before; and some triangular glasses, with all which the *Eunuch* was well pleased: but not finding that gain from the Fathers, which he expected, and which was the only thing he lookt after, he excused himself, that he could not present them to the King, by reason of the troubles of the war, which the *Giapponeses* made upon *Corea*, and which were every day expected in *China*; saying; that it was not a fitting time to speak to the King about strangers affaires. Of the same opinion also was that *Mandarine* their friend, who being to returne to *Nankim*, where he had a Government bestowed upon him, would willingly have carried the Fathers back again with him. But it seemed better to them, that the Hopes which they had

conceived, should not be so soon lost; nor so much labour and expence be cast away in vain: wherefore they remained in *Pekim* above a moneth after the departure of the *Mandarine*, using all endeavours, and seeking out all wayes possible, to see if they could compasse their intention. But all their diligence was in vain; for the *Mandarine* being once gone, all the rest withdraw themselves; so that there was not one of the *Mandarines* of the Court, that would admit them so much as to a Visite.

The difficulties then being so great, and they finding no way to overcome them, the Fathers were forced to returne into that Country, where they were more known, and had been better received; and so they came back to *Nankim*, but not with so much ease, as they thought they should have done. For the Winter overtaking them in their voyage, and the River being frozen up, they were forced to winter by the way.

But Father *Mattheus Riccius*, being loath to lose any opportunitie, left his companions in the Barque, and took his way by land, avoyding by this meanes the trouble and hinderance of the Wintering, but not the cold of the journey, which was so excessive, that many times it hindred him from going forward. But at length having overcome all difficulties, he arrived at the Citie of *Suchen*, which without all contradiction, is the most pleasant and delightfull City of all *China*; so that they have a proverbe which saith, That the City of *Suchen* & *Hancheu*, is that upon earth, which the habitation of the blessed, is in heaven. It is scituated in a pleasant River of fresh Water, just as Venice is in the Sea: it hath the greatest traffique of all the Kingdome; the Merchandize from *Macao* being first brought thither, from whence they are afterwards disperfed to all other parts.

Here the Father found *Quitaizo*, his ancient friend, in the Province of *Canton*, by whom he was received with all manner of kindnesse and friendship, and was also by him introduced and brought into credit with the whole City. And being the Sonne of a principall *Mandarine*, he was a great help to him in gaining the friendship of severall *Mandarines* of great authoritie; for which and other good turnes he did us in *Canton* and other places, and especially in *Nankim*, he deserveth no small commendations and acknowledgment. The Father gave him a triangular glasse, which by his friend was taken for so precious a Jewel, that he tipt both the ends of it with Gold, and made a Case of Silver to put it in; and after sold it for above 500. Crownes. This honest man much desired, that the Father would settle himself in that Citie, and found a House there, where he might assist and promote him with more convenience; proposing many difficulties which would hinder the residence of the Fathers at *Nankim*. Neverthelesse, having weighed things better, and taking that resolution, which was most suitable to their occasions, they went both of them to *Nankim*, in the year 1599. where they found the state of affaires much altered from what it was the time before.

The Citie did now enjoy a profound peace and tranquillity, the *Giapponeses* being beaten back into their own Countrie. The *Mandarine* their friend was very glad of their coming, and did them many singular favours, as did also many others, both Magistrates, and other grave men and persons of account in that City; particularly a *Coli*, which is a kind of
Censor

Censor or *Syndic-royall*, named *Choxelim*: wherefore the Father, not only by their consent, but also by their perswasion, resolved to settle a residence, and found a House in that Noble City, which is the second of the whole Kingdome.

While the Father made his abode there, he gave great prooffe of himself and of the Sciences of *Europe*, particularly of the *Mathematicques*. He made a new Mappe of the World, with the explanation thereof in the *Chinesse* language and characters; which gained great reputation, not only to the authour, but also to *Europe*, seeing there such a multitude of Noble Kingdomes and Cities: so that the same *Quitaizo*, and others, with very *Solemn Ceremonies*, made themselves Disciples to Father *Riccius*. Neither was the authoritie lesse which the Father gained by the publick Disputes, which he held concerning matters of Religion, wherein, to the admiration of all the Councels, he ever had the Victorie: so that the Fathers came to such a height of reputation, that they were celebrated by many *Letterati* in *Epigrams* and *Elogies*.

In the meane time the companions of Father *Riccius* arrived, after they had wintered by the way, and endured many labours and hardships. But when they found the Father, in that City, where a little before he was not only not received, but also driven out with ignominie and shame, now to have such credit and applause, and so many friends who favoured him, they forgot all their former sufferings, and gave most hearty thanks to the Lord our God for that present prosperitie. Not long after, they began to think of buying an House: for, that wherein they lived, was only hired. Many were offered to them, but such for the most part as were inconvenient for them; among which there was one that was very large and capacious, but haunted with *Divells* and *Phantasmes*; so that none durst dwell in it. This inconvenience useth commonly to be advantageous to us, for wee not fearing these spirits, which vanish at the first on-sett, doe commonly purchase such houses at a very low rate; and so it happened to Father *Riccius*: wherefore after the bargain and sale was concluded, the Fathers came over a while to dwell in that house, where they lived very quietly without receiving any disturbance or inconvenience from those spirits.

As soon as the Fathers had their House and Church, there were not wanting those who did frequent it. The first who was baptized in this City, was an old man of seventy years of age, he was a *Noble man*, and had the office of *Chinoci*, whereof we spake, when we treated of that *Nobility*, which descendeth by way of blood. Presently his sonne followed him, who was already a *Letterato*, and was afterward made a great *Mandarine*, and also his whole Familie, his Grand-Sonnes and Daughters &c. I knew them many yeares afterwards, when they had made great progress in Vertue and Christian Pietie, and are therefore worthy of Eternall memorie, with many particular cases, whereof we shall make mention hereafter. This Familie was followed by others, the number of Christians still encreasing, as also their zeale to good works; especially after the persecution, whereof we will speak anon. So that it may be said to be the best *Christianitie* of *China*, although the most persecuted and molested.

The affaires of *Nankim* succeeding thus prosperously, and these good beginnings shewing that that House would not only continue, but also be enlarged and advanced, Father *Riccus* sent one of his companions, *F. Lazarus Catanens* to *Macao*, partly to give an account to the superiours of what had passed, partly to get some curiosities of *Europe* to make Presents of; and partly to seek out some new companions to labour in that plentiful harvest.

The Father arrived at *Macao* with these glad tidings, which were received with that joy which was fitting; and shortly after, having procured some Presents for the King, and a fresh recruit of other Fathers, he returned to *Nankim*, where Father *Riccus* stayd for him: who having his whole desires set upon *Pekin*, after he had received the Presents, and a fresh supply of companions, deferred no longer to begin his second voyage for *Pekin*; having not only the opinions, but also the propitious assistance of some principall *Mandarines*, in his favour.

It was the sixteenth day of May, in the year 1600. when the Fathers *Matthæus Riccius*, and *Didacus Pantoia*, and brother *Sebastian Fernandes* departed the second time for the Court, in the same manner as before, by water, having accommodation given them in a barque belonging to an Eunuch; who the more he conversed with the Fathers, had still the more affection for them.

Having passed the Province of *Nankim*, and being come into that of *Xantum*, in the City where the *Vice-roy* of that Province doth reside, Father *Riccus* was received with extraordinary respect by that *Vice-roy*. He was visited in the barque, presented, and very much made off. The memoriall, or petition, which he intended to present to the King, was mended for him, and put into a better form; and last of all, he had many letters of recommendation given him to the *Mandarines* of *Pekin*. This *Vice-roy* had had some knowledge of Father *Riccus* by means of a son of his, who had very frequently and familiarly conversed with the Father at *Nankim*, and had heard from him many things concerning our Religion.

Their voyage continued very prosperous, without any considerable obstruction, untill they came to a City, where there was an Eunuch named *Mathan*, who was Collectour of the Kings customs and rights, and of many wrongs also, which he did to most passengers, and was accounted a wicked cruell man. He was very often visited by the Eunuch, in whose company the Fathers travelled, with his hands laden with Presents, but could never be admitted, because his gifts were not proportionable to the greedinesse of that *Harpye*. And because the time grew neere, wherein if he came not to Court, he should be in great danger, not only of his goods, but of his life also; he resolved to betray the Fathers, to free himselfe: And to that purpose informed the Eunuch, that those strangers carried Presents for the King, which he had seen; adding withall, that they might possibly have other things of greater price, out of which *Mathan* might make a great advantage to himselfe. Upon this occasion the Fathers runne a great hazzard, not only to lose what they had, but also to be killed, being left in the hands of that covetous, cruell wretch. For the Eunuch *Mathan*, although at the beginning he shewed himselfe something courteous

courteous, yet it was not long, ere it was manifest, what intentions he had towards them. First he desired only to see the Presents which they carried, and accordingly the Fathers shewed them him with all courtesie and respect: after that, he would needs take the charge upon him of presenting them to the King: Another time he carried them to his Palace, after that the King had answered to his *Memoriall*, that he should write him word, what those things were which came to be presented to him. Last of all, *Mathan* came with above 200 men armed, who were just so many theeves, and he their Captaine; and without any termes of respect, or courtesie, but with a furious countenance, ran sack'd all their goods, and in a great rage laid by whatsoever pleased him. When he saw any thing that had not been shewn him before, he would cry out, as if he had been robbed; but especially he made most horrible exclamations, when he had found a *Crucifix*, saying, That they were to make use of it in their enchantments and conjurations, wherewith they purposed to kill the King. To which the Father answered with all modesty, declaring to him the *Sacred mystery*, which was represented by that Image: But the *Eunuch* not admitting of any reason at all, cryed out, That such deceivers as they ought to be severely punished. In conclusion, having taken whatsoever liked him, he made an inventory of all, together with the Presents that were for the King, and sent them all, along with the Fathers into the Fort, where they had a continuall guard upon them. The Fathers were much dejected by this accident, fearing to lose in one moment all that they had thitherto gained with so much sweat.

Yet did they not lose the confidence, which they had in Gods assistance, whereof they had had so frequent experience: and therefore seeing themselves deprived of all humane help, they wholly cast themselves into the arms of the divine providence, and with prayers and mortifications, did by a holy violence wrestle with the divine mercy, that he would vouchsafe to turne his eyes toward the salvation of so many soules, that had been redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, the which, as it seemed probable to them, wholly depended upon the successe of that expedition. They sent a servant to the City with letters to another *Eunuch*, wherein they desired his favour to procure them leave to present those things to the King, beleeving, that because it was a businesse, wherein he might gaine favour and esteeme from the King, the *Eunuch* would very willingly undertake it. But whether it were for feare of *Mathan*, or that he were already pre-possessed by him, the answer was, to mis-use the servant both with words, and with blowes.

They sought yet another expedient to endeavour to get out of that misery. They writ to a *Mandarine*, who had shewed himselfe very friendly to them, before they fell into this tribulation, and had really favoured them upon severall occasions: But he also seeing the letter, was afraid to accept of it; neither would he returne any answer; neverthelesse he told our servant, that the Fathers were in as dangerous a condition as might be: for the *Eunuch* was resolved to present a *Memoriall* to the King against them, wherein he would declare, that they did designe to take away the Kings life by witchcraft, as also many other things in their prejudice, to
discredit

discredit them, and colour his owne imposture; wherefore his opinion was, that they should endeavour by any means possible, to make their escape, and to get back againe to *Canton*; and that they should esteeme it a great gaine to lose all they had, so they might escape that death, which hung over them, while they were in the hands of that cruell *Eunuch*. And if they were not either able, or willing, to put this in execution, at least they should endeavour to get a *Memoriall* presented to the King, by the means of some *Mandarine* at Court, who was their friend.

You may well imagine, in what condition the Fathers were at this message, and how apprehensive they were of the danger they were in: yet would they not accept of the first counsell, lest, being innocent, they might make themselves guilty by their flight; esteeming it a lesse misfortune, to suffer for righteousness sake, than to give occasion to those who knew them not, to believe those things probable, which the *Eunuch* layd to their charge. But the second counsell seemed more reasonable unto them, and therefore they presently dispatched toward the Court Brother *Sebastian Fernandes* with letters to their friends, to give them an account of the condition they were in: But as in such cases, there are few friends to be found, so there was none there, who would give them any assistance, wherefore the brother returned without having done any thing. Then did the Fathers well perceive, that there was now no longer any remedy left them in their owne industrie, in their friends, and in humane counsells; neither would they try any other means, but submitting themselves wholly to the will of God, did cheerfully expect what issue the Lord would be pleased to send them of their businesse.

Six months had the Fathers remained in that imprisonment, expecting the assistance of the Lord, by whom only they could be succoured. When beyond all thought of theirs, and without their knowledge, there cometh a decree from the King, wherein they are called to Court, with their Present. They say, the King himselfe one day, without being put in minde of it by any body, calling to his remembrance the *Eunuchs Memoriall*, asked where that Bell was, which rang of it selfe; and which, as they tell me, is brought me by a stranger? To which the *Eunuch*, who always waiteth upon him, answered, That it was not yet come to Court, because his Majesty had not given order for it to come. Whereupon the King presently gave order for it, and *Mathan* was forced against his will to send the Fathers with their Present, and the rest of their goods. They began then to take heart againe, and forgetting all their former troubles, they immediately set out upon their journey; and because they could not do it by water by reason the river was frozen up, they tooke their way by land, receiving from the *Mandarines*, at the Kings expence, whatsoever they had need of, both for their owne persons, as also for the carriage of their goods.

CHAP. 4.

The Fathers enter into Pekim, and settle there.

THE Fathers entred into *Pekim* on the fourth day of January 1601. where they were well received, and entertained in a Palace, which an *Eunuch* had lent them for that purpose. They made ready their Present, and the day following with a great traine and *Parade*, the *Eunuchs* carried it into the Palace, and presented it to the King; who made great account of every thing. He did highly prize the pictures of our *Saviour* and of the *Blessed Virgin*; he much admired the *Harpficon*; and presently gave order, that some of the *Eunuchs* should learne to play upon it. When he came to the Clock, which was a piece of much skill and workmanship, and an invention altogether unknowne to the *Chineses*, because he knew it struck the houres of its owne accord, and that at present it was not in order, not so much as to be shewed, he commanded that the Fathers should presently come into the Palace, and set it a going. So they were called in haste, and admitted within the second wall (for within the third and fourth, none may enter, unlesse it be the *Eunuchs*, and the Souldiers of the night-guard,) where by the Kings order given to one of the chiefe *Eunuchs*, the Fathers were received and entertained with all magnificence and courtesie.

They stayed there three daies, partly fitting the Clock to serve for the present; (for afterwards for the greater state there was a Tower of wood made for it of much cost and workmanship,) partly in teaching foure *Eunuchs* how to set and order it; and partly in satisfying such demands, as were made them concerning *Europe*, what kinde of Countrie it was, what Kingdoms, what people, what customes it had, and a thousand other particularities, which were all afterwards by the *Eunuchs* related to the King, who was much delighted therewith, seeming to be very much satisfied with every thing: he much desired to see the Fathers, but because he would not change the ancient stile and custome of the Kingdom, according to which the King is never to be seen by any stranger, he caused their pictures to be drawne at length, contenting himselfe, to see only the figures of those men, of whom he himselfe might not be seen.

All things succeeded prosperously, by reason of the great satisfaction, which all they of the Palace received from the Fathers; and especially by reason of the contentment the King tooke in every thing; and the delight with which he received the Presents; so that now all seemed to be secure, and that there was nothing more to feare. But there being no security, or calme, that is long lasting in this world, the Fathers quickly found themselves in new troubles; the occasion whereof was a *Mandarine* of the *Tribunal Lipu*, to whom it belonged by verue of his office, to have had the Present brought to him, and by his means, to have had it presented to the King, he being to assist at all Embassies, and Presents, that are offered to his Majestie. He therefore taking it ill, that the Fathers, who knew no-
thing

thing of this, had made use of the *Eunuchs* to carry their Present to the King, contrary to the ordinary stile of the Court, and without making any mention of those Officers, presently fell upon the weakest part, and commanded the Fathers to be apprehended, and put into the *House of strangers*, in a more discourteous manner than was usuall. The Officers and Sergeants having used more insolence in the apprehending them, than perhaps they were commanded to doe. Upon this occasion they were brought before the *Tribunal*, and examined in publick, although by their answers their cause was sufficiently justified, and the passion of the Judge something moderated.

They had not been above three daies, when they were sent for thence to the palace, to perform the ordinary *Ceremonies* in the Court of courtesies, whereof we have spoken in the first part. The very same day they were againe examined by the publick Notaries, by order of the same President concerning many other things. The poynt they most insisted on, was, to what end they were come into *China*: what their intentions were, and what they did pretend by the Present which they had given the King? The Fathers judged it necessary to answer cleerly and in forme, and therefore told them, That they came to preach the law of the true God, who was sole Lord and Governour of heaven and earth. And that they had brought that Present to the King, not that they did pretend any thing by it, either office, dignitie, or recompence, but as a Testimony of the obedience they ought him, having been inhabitants, for so many years, of that Kingdom; and that all they did desire, was to have leave to live and die in that Court, or in any other part of the Kingdom, which the King should thinke fit, as they had already lived there many years.

The Notaries having drawne up this answer, carried it to the *President*, who having seen and considered it, drew up his *Memoriall* thereupon to the King, partly in favour of the Fathers, and partly against them. But the King being well affected towards them, because there was something in it against the Fathers, gave no answer to it; which is there the same thing as to reject it: But the Fathers understood by the *Eunuchs*, that the King was much troubled, when he knew, they were kept as prisoners in the *House of strangers*.

The *Mandarine* seeing there was no answer given to his petition, presently judged the King was inclined to favour the strangers, wherefore he thought it fit to change his stile towards them, using them with all courtesie and kindenes, and commanded they should be better provided for in every thing, than the rest of the strangers, who were kept there. And contrary to the law and custome of that restraint, he gave them libertie to go into the City about their affaires, and to visit their friends. But withall he presented a second *Memoriall* to the King concerning the Fathers, wherein he did not only say nothing against them, but positively commended their persons, and their good behaviour, and manner of life: only there was this evill in it, that he besought him to send them away from *Pekin*, because it was against his lawes, that strangers should inhabit in the Court. But because the *Eunuchs*, who had care of the Clock, were afraid of the absence of the Fathers, because the ordering of it depended on their directions,

directions, and the King also had a desire they should stay, this second *Memoriall* likewise received no answer.

In the meane while the Fathers, having libertie to go abroad when they pleased, frequently Visited the *Mandarines*, made new friends, and treated with those of the Councel of Rites, called *Lipu*, before whom their businesse was, that they would be pleased in their *Memorials*, to signifie that they thought it fit that the Fathers should be permitted to reside in *Pekin*; telling them, that they might plainly perceive, that the king refused to give an answer to them, because he was willing they should stay there. But they still obstinately opposed that point, and accordingly in their third, and many other *Memorials*, which they presented concerning the Fathers, although in the whole or at least the greater part they seemed to favour them; yet in that, which concerned their stay at Court, they were alwayes excluded; but in the like manner the kings answer was alwayes suspended, there never comming any decree from him, eyther for or against them.

The Fathers perceiving this long delay, and whence it came, desired in the meane time to be freed from that restraint, which is imposed upon all strangers; wherefore they obtained by meanes of certain *Mandarines*, who were their friends, the favour to be discharged from that place, untill the King should returne his answer unto the fore-said *Memorials*, and to have leave to hire a House for themselves. This was a new thing and wholly different from the Stile of *China*, and therefore so difficult that it was accounted impossible to be done without a particular order from the King. But when God would have it so, all things are easily brought about; and so this licence was obtained, rather as a thing granted from Heaven, than acquired by humane industrie on earth. The Fathers then had full leave to go out of that walled place: they hired a House, and began to live in it, as if they had been natives of that Countrey,

The Fathers then seeing themselves in that condition which was much better than what they could hitherto obtain, presently endeavoured with all their might to get their settlement at the Court secured, that none might be able to trouble them any more upon that account, understanding very well, how much the securitie of their other houses depended upon their personall residence at that Court. Nevertheless with all the diligence that they themselves, and severall *Mandarines* their friends, could use, they were never able to obtain a decree for it: it is true, they were assured by the *Eunuches*, that the King had said, that they might dwell securely at the Court, and that they should by no meanes think of returning to the Southern Provinces; for if they did, he should be displeased at it.

This answer was very sufficient, and being authorized with the Kings name, served instead of a decree absolutely to secure their habitation there: another favour also being added to this, by which it was more confirmed, and that was the appointing by the Kings own order, to have a competent pension allowed the Fathers out of his exchequer, for the maintenance of themselves, and foure Servants, which allowance they were to receive quarterly. By these favours, and the friendship of the *Eunuches* of the Palace, and of some principall *Mandarines*, their habitation

was not only secured, but brought into such credit, that their friends increased dailie, and the people flocked continually to our House, some to see strangers, some to hear something concerning our *Sciences*, and some to understand the truth of our holy Law: and this was that which was most pleasing to the Fathers, and most profitable to the *Chineffes*.

Among the Principall *Mandarines*, who at this beginning contracted friendship with the Fathers, there was one, who was named *Ligo Zun*. He was a Native of the City of *Hamcheu*, a man of great Talents and ingenuitie, and was known to be such through the whole Kingdome; at the examinations for the degree of *Doctor*, where in that degree is given to about 300, he obtained the fifth place, which is a very great reputation among them. He was extreemly curious, and being assisted by his own naturall ingenuitie, and the friendship of Father *Matthæus Riccius*, he learned many curiosities in the *Mathematiques*. He translated severall of the Fathers Books into the *Chineffes* language; and whilest he was yet a *Gentile* he put our Catechisme into an excellent Stile. It is reported of him, that when he was Composing of it, seeing the powerful reasons which were brought in that Book to prove the Sanctitie of our Religion, that although he did not believe them to be true, he cryed out, *what an excellent piece is this and how accurately Composed!* But in time he began to penetrate better into them, and at length acknowledging them to be true, he resolved to become a *Christian*: but his desire not being capable to be put in effect at that time in his own person, by reason of that inconvenience of his having many Wives (which in *China* is the ordinarie hindrance and obstruction in men of that *Qualitie*) neverthelesse he would have his whole Familie Baptized; and he himself, after he had settled and jousted his affaires, as was requisite for that purpose, was Christened also, and named *Leo*; and is the same who is so frequently mentioned in the yearly Letters, for his Pietie and zeal, and for being one of the Supporters and Pillars of that Christianitie, carrying himself in such manner, that by his example and perswasion he gained many persons of *Qualitie* to our holy faith, among which number a grave person, named *Michael*, was one, who is also often mentioned in the letters; and of whom we shall speak, when it commeth to his turne.

When he was now become a *Christian*; he governed in severall places of the Kingdome, but alwayes with that observance, which was due to the Religion he professed. Among other honourable employments, he had the Office of *Tanli* (which is a place of great honour and profit) in the Citie of *Caoyew* in the Province of *Nankim*, he found in the Palace there, a Chappel full of Idols, which the curiosity, or devotion of his predecessours, had preserved and adorned with extraordinarie care and cost. The devout *Leo* judging it not convenient to have such ill company in the House where he dwelt, commanded his Servants, to throw down those Idols from the Alters where they stood, and to hew them to pieces with Hatchets, and after that they were given to the Cook, to consume them in the fire with all their Gold about them. The officers of his Tribunall, as Secretaries, Sergeants, and others were astonished at it, and looking one upon another, said, sure our *Caoye*, (for so they call their

their *Mandarine* is out of his wits; not understanding that indeed he had shewed this more in that particular, than in any other.

After he had served his King many years, he thought good to retire himselfe, that he might more fervently & devoutly serve the King of heaven. He went therefore to his house in the City of *Hamcheu*, where he dedicated himselfe with his whole heart to the affairs of his salvation. He built a new Church and House for the Fathers, which was very requisite in so vast and populous a City; although we had then another there at the same time. This stood so neer his owne House, that it gave him a continual occasion to converse very frequently with the Fathers, which was his only delight. And that he might wholly employ himself in the Service of that new Christianity, he gave himselfe to Translate our Books; which is an excellent way to introduce the understanding of our Sciences, and with them the knowledge of our holy Faith. To this end he requested to have one of the Fathers alwayes with him, who might give himselfe wholly to that employment. There was assigned him accordingly, Father *Franciscus Furtado*, by whose assistance he composed those books *de Cælo*, and Printed them at his own charges, with the great applause of all *China*. He undertook afterwards to have set out a *Logick*, which he had finished and reviewed, & was ready for the presse, when the Lord was pleased to give him the recompence of his pious zeal, by calling him to a better life, after he had received the *Sacrament*; and testified much resentment of the Mercy of God; and many hopeful signs of his owne salvation.

Returning now to the Fathers, whom we left at Court; there, where their Affairs prospered every day more and more, the Lord being pleased to comfort them, by letting them see the fruit of their labours, by advancing the esteem of our Holy Faith every day more than other among the *Gentiles*, many continually turning *Christians*, and the reputation of the Idols growing every day lesse and lesse, by reason of the many disputes, which the professors of their Sects, held with the Fathers, wherein they were not only vanquished, but even confounded by the Truth.

CHAP. 5.

*Of the proceedings and ruine of our House
at Xaocheu.*

WHilest our affaires at Court prospered, and the Fathers used their utmost endeavours to settle their abode there, in the meane time the Fathers, who resided in the houses of the other Provinces; omitted no opportunitie to promote the preaching of the holy Gospel, and had very good fruit of their labour: neither did the enemy of mankind cease to shew how much he resented, to have so many soules taken out of his clutches; neyther was he slow to invent new disturbances and troubles.

The House which we had in the Province of *Canton*, in the City of *Xaocheu*, increased every day in the number of new *Christians*, and in the

remarkable conversions of many considerable personages; among whom were three *Mandarines*, in the manner of their behaviour, with examples of vertue far surpassing the carriage of *Neophytes*, or new Converts. In fine, there was a great Gate opened to the Gospel, but in like manner to many adversaries also.

Father *Nicolaus Longobardus* was employed in this conversion; and when he endeavoured with the greatest fervour and zeale to drive all Idols out of the Houses of the *Gentiles*, behold there cometh one into his House, brought upon mens Shoulders in a long procession; who, with a great deale of noise and stirre, demand Almes for the Fabrique of a Temple, that was to be built for it. Every one seeth the danger of that demand, but Christian valour exposing it self to all events, did valiantly repulse that charge: and although the noise was great, the demand importunate, and their out-cries reaching even to heaven, yet the Lord not permitting them to do any other violence, they went their wayes without getting any thing of him.

In the Villages, the *Letteratie* were stark mad against the Christians. In the Citie the report was every where divulged, that in their journey to *Pekin*, the Fathers, who went toward the Court, were apprehended and imprisoned by the *Eunuch Mathan*, out of whose hands, if ever they went alive, it would be after a very severe chastisement. And as the Devill makes his advantage of every thing, there was added to this another worse report, by reason the Scene was laid neerer hand; which was, That our Fathers were banished out of the Citie of *Xaokim*, and that all they who had turned *Christians*, were apprehended and chastised. It is not to be beleaved how much this newes disturbed the people, and troubled the Fathers; and so much the more, by reason this prattle had some foundation of truth. But as truth doth still prevaile in the end, so this tribulation lasted not very long; but seemed rather to give place to new troubles, which were prepared against us.

There happened to be a great drought that year, and the *Gentiles* had many times offered Prayers and Sacrifices unto their *Pagods*, but all was to no effect: and not knowing what to do more, they consulted with an old woman, who was a *Pythoniſſe*, asking her the reason, why it did not raine, and why the *Pagods* did not give an ear to their just prayers in that common necessitie. She answered, because there are many, who burn the Ribs of *Con Him* (which is the name of a Female Idoll,) meaning thereby, that they who turned *Christians* did burn the *Idols* which formerly they worshipped in their Houses: with this answer of the old woman, as if she had been an oracle, it is not to be beleaved, into what fury and madnesse the *Gentiles* fell: so that if they did not set fire on the *Christians* Houses, it was only for feare of the *Mandarines*. but they swore to kill the Father, if ever he came againe.

In the Citie the *Bonzi* not being able any longer to endure, nor dissemble the rage which they had conceived against the Fathers, nor to see the smoke of the Idols, which were burnt every day by those who were converted, conspiring with many more of the people, resolved to put an end once for all to this businesse, they framed a divellish Petition, wherein they

they touched such poynts, that were able to put fear into any Magistrate whatsoever; and so much the more, because some of those things, which they said there were true, at least in part, and could not be denied; as that they were strangers; that they perswaded people to live after their way, and to observe their law; that they assembled congregations, which is a dangerous thing in *China*, for feare of Insurrections. To these they added many other things, in confirmation of their opinion. The *Memoriall* was presented to the Officers, neither was it received with an ill will. But the Lord, who alway assisteth his servants, and with his divine Providence helpeth them out of their greatest straits, kept a strong winde in readiness to dissipate these clouds.

This was a grave *Mandarine*, who exercised the office of *Tauli* in that City, who undertooke our defence; and with a speech which he made to the *Mandarines* and the people, concerning the probity and honesty of the Fathers, of their good manner of life and conversation, and of the security which was in them, quieted and appeased this tempest. Of so great power upon all occasions is the authority of one who governeth; and in this particularly, wherein, according to their manner of Government, one would have thought, that this *Tauli*, should have been our greatest adversary, it pleased the Lord by his means so farre to quiet all disturbances, that they made no small advantage, even of these temptations.

Their affaires continued thus, between tempests and calmes; which latter commonly were of the shorter continuance: and to conclude the History of this House, I will only relate two notable passages concerning it.

About this time the *Hollanders* did infest *India*, and were come as farre as *China* with a designe to gaine a Port in that Kingdom, and particularly to take, if they could, the City of *Macao*, as they did afterwards attempt to do, according as I have already related. Upon this occasion that City resolved to fortifie it selfe, as afterward it did, and although the designe did not take effect at that time, yet those beginnings and preparations of warre were sufficient to make the *Chineffes*, (who are timorous and suspicious even by nature) to beleieve that the *Portugheffes* had some designe on foot against them. This suspicion was encreased by the coming of Father *Lazarus Catanus* out of *China* to *Macao* at the same time. He was a man somewhat corpulent by nature, and of a tall stature, and of a bold and lively mind or aspect, and was now become more venerable by reason of his long beard; so that to any one who was not acquainted with him, he seemed fitter to carry a Pike than a Breviary. The *Chineffes* were perswaded that this Father had a designe, to make himselfe Master of their Kingdom, and that the *Portugheffes* had chosen him for their Captain in that enterprise; partly in consideration of his person, and partly for the knowledge he had of the waies in that Country, by reason he had been in both the Courts; adding with all, that there would arrive very shortly two Armies to their assistance, one from *India* of *Portugheffes*, the other from *Giappon* of *Giapponeffes*, who are their deadly enemies: and that the Fathers, who were the companions of Father *Lazarus*, were gone before into the Kingdom, partly as spies, and partly to stirre up the people to take part with

with their designs. A malicious but ridiculous invention of the Devil, as if 4 or 5 poore religious men, with a handfull of *Christians*, had been able to conquer so powerfull a Kingdom.

This rumour began by little and little, till at length; (as is usuall in such cases) it grew so strong in the beliefe of the *Chineffes*, that as many of them as dwelt in *Macao*, either Merchants or Inhabitants, fled all away to *Canton*. Whereupon they of the Province of *Canton* gave themselves for half lost, and being filled with frights and terrours, they made no question but the businesse was very certain. The newes had already arrived to the *Vice-roys* eares, who in hast made great levies both for sea and land. In the principall City of the Province, all the Houses were caused to be pulled downe, which were built along the wall on the outside, which were very many, and the poore people received an excessive losse by it. The gates which opened towards *Macao* were walled up with lime and stone, and upon the walls were placed Sentinells to keep watch both night and day. A proclamation was published, which under very great penalties did prohibite all manner of commerce with *Macao*, and that no stranger whatsoever should be admitted, and in particular not Father *Cataneus*, who was he, that was to make himselfe King. In this manner was the *Metropolis* inflamed with a military heat, while the neighbouring Cities were ready to die for feare.

Who would ever have doubted, that a fire so unfortunately begun, should not have reached as farre as our Residence of *Xaochen*, a City of the same Province, and not very farre from the *Metropolis*, and should not there have burnt up whatsoever it found in it, together with all our other Houses in that Kingdom? They rushed suddenly into the House with such a fury as you may easily believe them to be in upon such occasion: they made a very strickt search, and turned every thing upside downe, to see if they could finde any armes; and having not found what they sought for, having imagined to finde a *Magazine* or Armory there, the tumult began to cease, and the people went out of the House: neverthelesse they set guards upon us for their greater securitie; and from this time that fire began to be extinguished.

The *Vice-roy* had already given order to the Captain Generall of that Province, whom they call *Tum Pim*, that with all the strength of the Country he should fall upon *Macao*, and that he should sack and destroy it. But he, like a prudent man, would not put himselfe upon an enterprize of so much hazzard and danger (for the *Portugheffes* would not have suffered themselves to have been so easily destroyed, as they shewed afterwards against the *Hollanders*, a people of another manner of valour than the *Chineffes*) before he had received better and more certain information. Therefore he sent spies to *Macao*, who went up and downe the City very freely, for by reason they had no suspicion of any thing, all passages were free and open. When the spies had remained in all libertie in *Macao*; as long as they thought fit, they returned with certain intelligence, that there was not any preparation for warre in *Macao*, no levies of Souldiers, nor any signe of that newes, which had been spread abroad; but all was in peace & quietnesse, save only that the City was divided into two factions, by reason of some particular quarrels.

upon

Upon this intelligence he did forbear to put the *Vice-roys* orders in execution, and in the mean time things began to be better cleared, and the truth to appeare. The Citizens of *Canton* did open their gates, and their feares began to blow over and every thing to settle in a great deale of quietnes, which was much promoted by the coming of that *Mandarine*, of whom we have formerly made mention, that he did appease another tumult against the Fathers in the City of *Xaochen*. He had been at the Court, and was returned from thence, upon the occasion of his being promoted to an Office. He, upon the acquaintance he had formerly had with the Fathers, and especially by reason of the new friendship he had contracted with the Fathers at *Pekin*, with whom he had had a very great familiarity, absolutely settled all those distempers there for that time; for this Province is like a Turbulent sea, for there, stormes are never wanting, one still succeeding another, untill they had utterly ruined our House at *Xaochen*.

It was the year of our Lord 1613, when the people of this City, after many contrasts, (whether it were that their sinnes did render them unworthy of those mercies the Lord would have conferred on them, or that the Lord was pleased by this means to provide the Fathers a more quiet and secure abode) conspired in that violent manner against the Fathers, that the *Mandarines*, (not being able to resist the fury of the *Litterati*, the *Bonzi*, and the common people, who with one accord cryed out against the strangers,) did banish them by a publick sentence pronounced against them, which notwithstanding had thus much of good in it to them, that the banishment was not out of the Kingdom, as they did very much feare it would be, but seemed rather a confinement to detain them in the Kingdom.

They pillaged our house, and committed other such insolences, as are usuall upon the like sentences, and with such persons. They placed over the doore in signe of their victory a stone with a long inscription on it against the Fathers, and our holy faith. But when things began to close, the *Christians* procured one night to have it peckt over with an iron toole, and so defaced it, that it was never after to be read.

The Fathers departed from that City with great contentment of the *Gemiles*, and a greater resentment of the *Christians* who wept all downe right: and going up the river towards the North, they arrived in a few daies at *Mount Muilin*, where the Source and Head of that river riseth. At the foot thereof lyeth the City of *Nambium*, which terminateth that Province. Here the Lord was pleased, that their Barque should rest, like that of *Noah* on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. And without asking any leave, or desiring the favour of any *Mandarines*, only putting their trust in the Lord, they hired a house in that City, (where it was not hard for them to find one for their turne) without the molestation or prohibition of any one whatsoever; for when the Lord will have a thing come to passe, all is easie, even without pains and industry. There they lived with that little which they had saved out of their shipwrack at *Xaochen*, and drest up a Chappell in their house: and as the report of the arrivall of these strangers began to raise their curiosity, so the concourse of the people, and their visits to them did open a doore to the preaching of the Gospell.

So

So that Father *Gaspar Ferrera*, who had been with them in the late troubles, presently began to baptize some of them. And the year following, as I passed by that place, to go to *Nankim*, there was, although not a numerous, yet a good and well instructed *Christianitie*, who enjoyed all peace and quietnesse, untill the year 1616, when the persecution at *Nankim* began.

CHAP. 6.

Of the progress of the Christian religion at the two residencies of Nancham and Nankim, and of the death of Father Mattheus Riccius.

THE Fathers *Emmanuel Dias*, and *Joannes Soerius* laboured with very good fruit in the residence of *Nancham*, which is the principall City of the Province of *Kiamsi*: and although the greatest part of the *Christians* were but of the common people, yet there were some also of the *Nobilitie*, and of the *Kings kindred*, who were baptized, and carried themselves very exemplarily to the edification of all the rest. I have since known some of them, who did very much benefit that *Christianitie* by the good pattern and example of their lives; and when I departed from *China*, *Don Pedro* was then living, who is so often mentioned in the yearly letters; for having carried himselfe like a good *Christian* upon all occasions, and even in the torments which he sustained with great constancy; his house many times affording a Sanctuary to the Fathers, and a Church to the *Christians*, who went commonly thither during their troubles, and persecutions, which were not wanting there; neither did they faile to produce that fruit, which they are wont to do in new *Christianities*.

There dwell in this City many of the *Kings kindred*, who for the most part are very insolent; partly by reason of the authority of their blood, and partly by reason of the idle and easie life they lead. These did often give the fathers much trouble, and one time were resolved to surprize the house, where they lived, and to turne them out of the City, and had proceeded so farre in it, that there is no doubt, but that they had put their purpose in execution, had not the Governour of the City been changed; who having ended his time resigned his place to another, who although he was new in that Office, yet was not new in the acquaintance of the Fathers.

The *Litterati* (who when they have only taken their first degree of *Bachelour*, are another sort of troublesome people) had undertaken to oppose the *Christian* religion, and to persecute the Preachers thereof; as accordingly they did many times, but once in particular, many of them conspiring together to pluck up this evill weede, as they called it, by the roots, framed a *Memoriall*, wherein they named some of the Fathers by their names, and affirmed that they were *Traytours* to the King, and that upon this designe they had dispersed themselves into five severall Provinces.

That

that they kept a constant correspondence one with another; that they went up and down the Rivers to rob and assassinate the people; that they taught men not to reverence the Images of their ancestors, and not to worship the *Pagods*, but brake and burned them; that they seduced the ignorant people, and taught them to worship a *Moor* (for so in that Province they call the *Europeans*) saying, that he was the true God; that they made assemblies and meetings, and hindred people from following their businesse, that they had almost perverted the whole Citie; and though at the beginning there were but a few of their Sect, yet now they were multiplied to 20000. In fine, they said many other things, which sounded so ill, that there was none who doubted but that they would be sufficient wholly to extirpate the *Fathers*; beside their adversaries were many, united in one Body, and *Litterati* too, who knew very well how to use their pen, and are commonly the better heard for that reason.

They presented their *Memoriall* to the *Magistrates*, who received it, and cited the *Fathers* to their *Tribunal*, where they were examined about their life and manners, and concerning the doctrine, which they preached. They gave an account of themselves, and were also very well heard. They brought along with them the *Catechism* which they taught, printed in the *Chinesse* Language, and presented it to the *Mandarines* in stead of a *Memoriall*. This was so well looked upon, that they, not only admired therein the foundation and principle of all vertues, but also greatly praised the precepts of the *Ten Commandments*. In fine, the businesse went so well, and so contrary to what their adversaries did hope and expect, and so much in favour of the *Fathers*, that the *Law of God* was publickly commended and approved by the very *Gentiles* themselves; and the abode of the *Fathers* in that City confirmed by a publique sentence, and drawn up in writing, which till that time could never be obtained; and the *Crosse of Christ* triumphed in spite of all the Devils in Hell; and from thence forward they that were Christians already, enjoyed all the liberty they could desire, and they that had a mind to turne Christians, could do it without any caution or secrecie: and truly there were many of them that proved examples of great edification; and though I do purposely forbear to mention them for brevities sake, yet I will relate one belonging to the same residence, because it was told me by the same *Christian* himself, a little before my departure for *Europe*.

I was standing one day, in the *Church* which we have in this City, when I saw a man come in thither to say his prayers, and not knowing him, I stayed till he came out, and then I asked him, who he was: He answered, *Father*, I am a Christian, and was born in this City, but am by profession a Merchant in *Nankim*, and at certain times I come hither to see my Parents, & then I come to *Church* according to my dutie. I asked him, who did Baptize him? He answered me, *Father John della Rocca*: And it was, said he, in this manner; I had been sickly many yeares, and had spent all my poor fortune upon the Physitians without receiving any help from them, my friends used to visit me, and among them two *Christians*, who one day being moved with compassion towards me, told me that I should do well to turn *Christian*, and it might be, that the Lord would grant me

my health. I answered them, If your God would restore me my health, I am content to turn *Christian*. They went presently to the *Father* to ask him for a little Holy water, to give me to drink, hoping that it would have a good effect. But the *Father* answered them, If he have a desire to turn *Christian*, let him do it, and our Lord will send him health, if it be his pleasure, and if he do not, yet at least let him take care of the health of his Soule, which is more necessary than that of the body, As for miracles, the Lord doth them only when he pleaseth; and if upon this occasion he should not do a *Miracle*, then would that *Gentile* despise and undervalue our religion. They returned to me sufficiently disconsolate, but I was much more dejected when I heard that answer. About two dayes after, the same two *Christians* being with me, there came in another called *Peter*, with whom I was also acquainted; and he was a very zealous and fervent *Christian*. They told him what had happened to them with the *Father*; but he replied, What need have we of the *Father* for this matter? I have holy water my self at home, let us give him some of it, and I hope our Lord will grant him his health. He went presently home, and fetched a little of it; they gave it me, and I drank it; and not long after I perfectly recovered; and that which many medicines were not able to do in so many years, the *Holy water* did in a very short time. I went presently to *Church*, to render thanks to the Lord for that great mercy he had shewed me; and after I had been well *Catechised* and instructed in the principall matters of our *Holy Faith*, I was Baptized.

I have made choise of this example in particular, because it was related to me by the person himself, to whom it happened, although there never wanted many others of the like kind, wherewith the Lord doth favour that *Church*, strengthen the *Christians*, and comfort the Preachers thereof.

The Residence of *Nankim* did this while enjoy a perfect peace and tranquillitie; and the *Fathers* gained a great deale of credit and reputation, and were much esteemed by severall of the *Magistrates*, who did greatly favour them. The number and devotion of the Faithfull encreased every day; and for the greater help thereof there was founded a congregation of the *B. Virgin*, with those effects and fruits, which are usually obtained by her.

Diverse persons of very considerable qualitie did present themselves to receive *Holy Baptism*; among whom *Kui Tai Zo* was one; who indeed was worthy of all praise, for the great paines he took in this Citie to assist the *Fathers*, and for the many advantages he gained them by his authority. This man, notwithstanding that he was our intimate friend, did still persist in his *Heathenisme*, and although he commended our *Holy Law*, and approved the Truth and Certainty thereof, yet he thought it very troublesome to observe; a conceit which doth usually withhold very many from the undertaking of it. But at length having overcome himself and all other difficulties, he was Baptized, and called *Ignatius*, making his confession and publick profession so resolute and devoutly, that he did much comfort the *Fathers*, and encourage the rest of the Faithfull: neither was he content only to recite it, but gave it in writing as a pledge of his determinate

nate resolution, the which for the publick edification I have thought fit to insert in this place, and it saith thus.

Kui Ignatius *born in the second Moon of the year called Cica, (which was about the month of March, in the year 1549) in the Citie of Cianceu, of the Countrie of Sucieu, in the Province of Nankim, in the Kingdom of Tamin (for so they call the Kingdome of China) I being drawn by a profound consideration, and moved by a most sensible sorrow for my sinnes, do desire to ask pardon of almightie God, that he might giue me the saving water of Baptism for to cancell them, and that he would grant me sufficient grace to enter into his most Holy Law. I consider with my self, that being now 57 years of age, I have had eyes all this while, and yet have never looked into his Holy Law: I have had eares, and yet have never heard of his Sacred Name; but on the contrary have followed the Sect of Scechia (which is the name of a very famous Idoll) and although I understood, that it was repugnant both to truth and reason, I did very much enlarge and spread abroad that superstition, the which I acknowledge to be my very great fault, and almost Infinite sinne, which without doubt did deserve no lesse than the lowest depth of Hell. Of late years it was my good fortune to meet with the Masters of the truth, who came from the great West, Mattheus Riccius and Lazarus Catanæus together with their Companion Sebastian Fernandes. These were the first that did open unto me the Mysteries of Divine truth: and now again of late, I mett with John Della Rocca and his Companion Frances Martinez. These did confirm me in the beleef of those things I had already heard; by meanes of these Masters I learned, that Heaven and Earth, Mankind and all other things were made by God and that all things have their dependance on him, and are necessarilie subject unto his commands: that no other Sect, or law, whatsoever besides this, is conformable to truth; that sinnes are forgiven only by God by the intermission of his Ministers; that by him only the joyes of Heaven are conferred upon such, who have a true and sincere sorrow for their sinnes: and because I beleieve that by these meanes a man may obtain from God, Grace and other benefits, I beseech his Divine Majestie, that he would so fill me with this truth, that I may put it in execution by good works, and may be able with a constant and firme resolution to worship the Heavenly Majestie and to conforme my self to his Holy precepts and ordinances. And from the day wherein I shall receive Baptisme, which cleanseth and washeth all filth and uncleannesse from the Soule, I do promise by his Grace for the time to come, wholly to extirpate out of my thoughts the Sect of the vain and false Gods; as also their doctrines, which are repugnant to reason, and to take care, that my thoughts do not in any wise runne after the superfluous desire of riches, the vanitie of the world, or the false and foolish pleasures thereof. I will obey the Sovereign Lord and Father of all things, and will follow the direct way of his law; and by a constant watch upon my senses, I will endeavour, as much as is possible for me, to reduce the light of that reason, which God hath given me, to its former Splendour, I will begin with my self, and afterward communicate unto others, the benefit of those Graces I shall receive from his bountifull hand.*

For as much as appertaineth unto the Articles of our Faith, although I am not able to comprehend the greatnesse of each Mysterie, neverthelesse I do from my heart submit my self to them; and do firmly believe whatsoever is contained in them, beseeching the Holy Ghost, that he would illuminate my

understanding with his light, that I might be the better able to comprehend them. Now therefore, since I have begun again to fee the first impressions of faith, my heart is like a tender care of corne, which is not yet come to its maturity, wherefore I beseech the Mother of God, that she will grant me strength and courage, by her Intercession for me with God her Sonne, that this my firm purpose & constant resolution might never be staggered or shaken: that he would open the powers of my soule, and grant me a cleane and pure heart: That he would open my mouth to declare his Divine law through the whole Kingdom, to the end that none might be ignorant of the law of the True God, or refuse to give obedience to it.

This was the profession in writing of *Ignatius*. There was also baptized in this house by the hands of Father *John della Rocca*, who was superiour thereof, *Doctor Paul*, whose life we shall set downe more at large toward the end of this relation, and who may justly be called the pillar of the *Christianitie* of *China*, who was so much celebrated in the yearly letters, so eminent in dignitie and honour, having borne the highest office of the Kingdom, that is, of *Colao*; so zealous in the *Christian* religion; so exact in the observance of it; so humble; so vertuous and holy, that every great thing may worthily be said of him.

This seed of the *Holy Gospel* was not contained within the walls of the City of *Nankim*, but spread it selfe over the Province of the same name; for upon the occasion of *Dr. Pauls* turning *Christian*, and of his Fathers death, at what time he went to *Scianhai* to celebrate his funeralls, Father *Lazarus Cataneus* went thither, partly to visit him, and partly to see how that Countrey was disposed to receive the word of God. His journey had such good successe, that presently after one *Masse*, there were fifty *Baptized*, and in two years after the number was encreased to two hundred: the example of *Dr. Paul* being of great efficacy to that purpose.

There happened also at that time severall miracles; as, driving out of Devils, healing of the sick, and such like, with which this new *Christianitie* was watred, and the earth disposed to bring forth more fruit, such as were afterwards, and are still gathered there at this day. There was also a house founded in that Towne; and it is now one of the best *Christianities* in all *China*.

Whilest the Fathers of the three Southerne Residencies, under went so much paines and trouble, Father *Matthews Riccins* was not idle at *Pekin*; but rather was so busied, that he had scarce time to breath, partly for the visits of the *Chineffes*, which he was also obliged to returne them, nor could he have omitted it without injury and discourtesie; and partly with the *Christians* and *Catechumens*; and partly in composing those bookes, which are so much esteemed by the *Chineffes*. In the mean while the reputation and esteeme of our religion was every day advanced, and the number of *Christians* encreased by rare and miraculous events. One of the *Neophytes*, or new *Christians*, being delivered from death, which he was unjustly condemned to suffer, by the apparition of a man, like unto the Image of our Saviour, one night to that Judge, who was to confirme the sentence, who commanded him to save the life of that *Innocent*: and two others, whose recovery was despaired of by the *Physitians*, were cured by
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the favour of the *B. Virgin*, who visibly appeared to them, spake to them, and comforted them.

Notwithstanding his great employments, Father *Matthews* did not omit the other functions of his charge in the House, he being superiour and having the care of the whole *Mission*, which he governed with great care, prudence, and charity: by reason of these continuall paines and care which he tooke, (or rather because the Lord was pleased to deliver his servant out of the troubles of this life, to give him the reward of his sufferings) he fell into a sicknesse, and although all humane means were applyed, and all possible care used to save his life, yet all was to no purpose. He desired to receive the *Sacraments*, which accordingly he received with very great resentment and devotion: The Fathers desired his blessing before he dyed: about many questions which they asked him, he gave particular answers to all: among the rest, to one who asked him, Why he would leave them at a time, when they had so great need of his company? He answered, *I leave you the gate open to great victories, which notwithstanding are not to be obtained without great pains and combats.* And so entertaining with discourse, sometimes the Fathers, sometimes the new *Christians*, and very often raising up his heart and voice towards heaven, in amorous *Colloquies*, lying in his bed, without any motion at all of his body, and closing his eyes, as if he were entring into a sweet sleep, he gave up his soule into the hands of his Maker, with the generall greife and resentment, not only of those of the house, and of the *Christians*, but also of the *Gentiles*, they all calling him, *a perfect Man, a Saint, an Apostle.* I will forbear to speak any more of him for brevities sake, by reason his life is already written in the History of Father *Trigaltius*.

CHAP. 7.

Of the Burying place, which was bestowed upon us by the King, and of the progresse of the Christian religion, untill the time of the persecution at Nankim.

IT is a custom among the *Chineffes*, (as we have already related,) to have a particular place appoynted for the buriall of their dead. The Fathers, who had very hardly a place allowed them for to live in, were altogether destitute of a place of Sepulture; wherefore they were in great doubt, where they should bury the Father. But the Lord who is a guide unto his, and who had a particular intention to honour his servant, put them upon a very difficult undertaking, and as farre as I am able to judge by the custome of *China*, without his speciall assistance, altogether impossible. This was to Petition the King, desiring his favour, to have a place assigned us for the buriall of our dead. And because it was the Lord, who had first set this businesse on foot, without any consideration of the great difficultie, which

which they were like to find, they presently framed a *Memoriall* to be presented to the King, wherein they laid downe the reasons, which moved them to make this humble request.

The very passing of this *Memoriall*, according to the *Stile* which is requisite upon that occasion, seemed so impossible a thing, that the *Colao* himselfe, who desired to assist them as a friend, accounted it a very difficult enterprise. Neverthelesse after they had recommended their businesse to Almighty God, the *Memoriall* was presented to the *Mandarine*, to whose office it belonged first to over look it, and the Lord was pleased to favour us so farre, that it passed the *Chancery* without any difficultie, which at first seemed to be the greatest. When it was presented to the King, without doubt he that holdeth the hearts of Kings in his hand, did dispose and incline him to favour us, and he remembring the former Present, and the Clock which he had alwaies by him, did referre it to the *Colao*, together with many other petitions, according to the *Stile* of that Court, and he to the Councell of Rites, because it was a businesse of strangers, which did properly belong to them. But after they of that Councell had considered it, they judged it to be a speciall favour of the Kings, and that it did therefore belong to the Councell of the Kings *Patrimoine*. Wherefore they did remit our *Memoriall* to them. Assoone as the Fathers understood this, and knowing they had no friends in that Councell, and that there was nothing to be expected from them without favour, they made such means, by way of other friends, that the *Memoriall* was not only remanded againe to the Councell of Rites, wherein the Fathers had severall friends, but that they also did receive it, and passe sentence in favour of them, as accordingly they did in this form.

Your Majestie hath given command, that the Councell to whom this businesse did belong, should give their judgement concerning this petition. And it being come into our hands, we have well considered the laws and constitutions of this Kingdom, and we find one which saith: That if any of those Strangers, which are wont to come into this Kingdom, should chance to die by the way; if he were a subject or Vassall, (for sometimes there come Kings and Princes thither) and were not yet arrived at the Court, the Treasurer of the Province, where he dyeth, shall assigne him a place of buriall, where there shall be set up an inscription graven in stone, wherein shall be expressed the occasion of his coming hither.

There is also another law which saith, If a Stranger come into this Kingdom, and die after he is arrived at the Court, if he have not received the Kings gratuity, and reward, according to the usuall custome, the Governour of the City shall defray the costs of his funerall: But if he hath received his gratuity, it shall be done at his owne expence.

In order to these two laws (from which I cannot well see how an argument should be drawne to favour our cause, because the Fathers had already received their gratuity) the *Mandarine* knew so well how to make up the businesse, and to find out so many reasons and conveniences to obtain that favour, which Father *James Pantoia* required of his Majestie, for the buriall of his deceased companion, that assoone as the *Memoriall* came againe into the Kings hands, he presently referred it to the *Colao*, that he should give what answer to it he thought fit. The *Colao* drew it up in this form,

forme, That it seemed very reasonable unto him, the strangers should have that favour granted them, which they did desire. And so it was againe brought to the King, who signed it with his owne hand, and put to it his *Fiat*.

This expedition put an end to our troubles; and the Fathers ceased not to render thanks to Almighty God for that favour, which they were so cleerly to owne from his goodnesse, and which was of so great importance for the Fathers residence in that Court, and in the rest of the Kingdom, that concession of the King, serving not only for a Sepulture for their dead, but also for a license for us to remain there during our lives. For he having granted us a place in that Kingdom, to lie in after our death, it was manifest that he granted us also a place of abode there during life: and the words of the Grant runne thus, *To bury their Father Riccius and his companions*. And accordingly they who die in that Court at this day are buried in the same place.

Having overcome the first part of the businesse, (which was the most difficult,) without any trouble, but rather with a great deale of ease and facilitie, there remained still the second, which was the execution of it; which could not want very much opposition: but by having many *Mandarines* to their friends, and by procuring the good will of others, with some Sun-dials of Ivory, (which the *Chineses* do highly esteeme, and Father *Pantoia* had the skill of making them very exactly) our poverty not being able to extend it selfe to any great matter, at length they overcame the smaller difficulties, and the execution of their desires became more easie for them; especially the Fathers having the *Colao*, (who is able to do any thing,) for their friend: who indeed was so well affected to the businesse, that Father *Pantoia* going a second time to visit him, to refresh his memory, fearing lest the multitude of businesse, which lay upon him might cause him to forget them, before the Father could open his mouth, the *Colao* tooke him by the hand, telling him, that he did not forget his businesse, but fearing least any delay might be prejudiciall to them, he had past it himselfe, and sent it to the Governour with particular recommendations, although he thought it needlesse, because he knew him already to be very well affected to the businesse, and that he had done the like to severall other officers, through whose hands the businesse was to passe: Upon the recommendations of a person of so great qualitie, the businesse was not only received, but very much favoured. There was presently order given to the inferiour Officers, by whose hands it was immediately to be dispatched, that they should finde out a proper place for that purpose: who being alwaies very obedient to the commands of their superiours, and knowing what haste the businesse did require, they went immediately about it; and having found out foure places, which to them seemed all very convenient, they came to the Fathers, and desired them that they would be pleased to go and see them, and make choise of that which liked them best, and then the King should be made acquainted with it.

Among these foure places, there was one very neere the walls of the City, with a very faire and stately house and garden, which had formerly belonged to one of the chiefe Eunuchs of the palace; who for I know not
what

what crime was condemned to die; and was still kept a Prisoner. This man before he was condemned, seeing he should certainly be ruined, and that his whole estate would be confiscated to the King, had a design to save this Garden, by putting it, as it were, into Sanctuarie; wherefore he caused the Gate thereof to be altered, turning it into an habitation of *Bonzi*, and consecrated the great Hall for a Temple of Idols, setting over it this Magnificent Inscription, *The Temple of the Science of Goodnesse*. This place was very commodious, and having but one only *Bonzo* that lived in it, it seemed to be, as it were, abandoned, and that there would be but little difficultie in obtaining it. That place then being designed and chosen, there was not wanting a *Mandarine*, who hoping to draw something out of the Fathers by it, was very earnest to have the place prized: but there was another *Mandarine*, who presently took him up, and told him, that the favours of Princes were above all price; and that they were not to be put to an out-cry. The Governour having notice that we had found out a place, & who was the owner of it, presently drew up an Order in this form, *The Temple of the Science of goodnesse, for as much as it did belong unto an Eunuch, who was condemned to death by the King, ought not to be bought with money. Let the Bonzo, who dwelleth therein, be sent away, and the place presently consigned to Father James Pentioa, and his companions.*

This Order was executed in the form of a Sentence: and because the *Fathers* did imagine, that the *Bonzo* would make some difficulty in being got out of the place, after they had given thanks to the *Governour*, they desired he would be pleased to send for the *Bonzo* to come before him, and to command him to leave the Temple. He dispatched presently two men for him, who brought him away in much fear and doubt, what might befall him, by reason of the great danger that men ordinarily runne into by such visits. When he was come, the Governour commanded him immediatly without any reply, that he should quit that habitation, and seek out another. He obeyed him very willingly, being very glad the businesse was not so bad as he had feared: and the very same day the *Fathers*, having some other *Christians* in their company, took possession of the Temple, House and Garden, giving thanks to the Lord for their good successe, thinking the businesse to be now at an end; not foreseeing the great contrasts and oppositions, which they were afterwards to find.

The secrecie and expedition, with which this businesse was carried, gave no time for news to come to the ears of the *Eunuch* in Prison, what became of the Temple, which he still accounted to be his. But as soon as it was understood abroad that it was granted to the strangers, it is not to be imagined what complaints and murmures it occasioned in the Kindred, friends and disciples of the *Eunuch*; and how all of them, some one way, and some another, undertook to oppose it, and to use their utmost power to have it revoked by the King.

First, there went a company of inferiour *Eunuchs* to the Temple, where at that time they found only a Brother of the Societie; after a long discourse they told him, that there were there severall goods and pieces of Household-stuffe not comprehended in the Kings grant to them. And at length before their departure, they made severall speeches to the Idoll, some

some bidding him adieu for ever; for now they never hoped to have libertie to come thither again: another in great rage called him, Masse of durt and dung, (although the Idoll were made of Chaulk, and gilt) telling him, that seeing he had not strength enough to defend himself, he would not hope for any assistance from him; professing to his face, that he was not worthy of any honour; and that from hence forward he would not shew any sign of gratitude or memorie towards him: others said, This statue had formerly the name of another Idoll, which was afterwards changed: behold, what revenge he taketh upon him that usurped it.

But the *Eunuchs* of greater authoritie left no way nor meanes un-attempted; they made their application to the chief *Eunuchs* of the Palace, as also to the *Mandarines* without, and other persons of great power, that they might carry on their intent. And truly they prevailed so far, that they perswaded the *Culikien* to interpose his authority; who is Secretary (as they call it) of the Puritie, chief of the *Eunuchs*, and who hath the frequentest access to the Kings person. But as soon as he understood, that it was done by the Kings Order, he would meddle no more with the businesse.

There was not left any person of greater authoritie, but only the Kings Mother, who was a very devout worshipper of Idols; by her meanes they did endeavour to bring their design about; a certain *Eunuch*, who was much in favour with her, being made the first mover of this revolution. He told her with great lamentations, that a Temple of his Gods had been taken away from him; that it was worth many thousands of Crownes; that it had been given to certain strangers, who did not only render them no worship nor respect, but did also destroy them; and that he was certain, they would break them in pieces and burn them; wherefore he earnestly besought her Majesty, that she would vouchsafe to speak a word concerning it to the King. But she would by no meanes allow of his request: and it was known afterwards, that she answered him in this manner. *What though the Temple be of that value you speak of? What is that in comparison of the Kings Magnificence? the very mentioning of such a businesse now the King hath done them that favour, if the strangers should but make their complaint, would be sufficient to take away the life of that Eunuch, who is in Prison, and already condemned.* To conclude, in spite of all the powerfull endeavours, in spite of all the craft and machinations which were used against them, the determination of the businesse was in favour of the poor strangers, who were protected by a Divine power; and so having overcome all difficulties and obstructions, the Fathers went to the Palace, according to the usuall manner, to render Thanks to the King.

This place which was granted them, is distant from the gate of the Citie, about a third part of a Mile; the building is very neat, and all of Brick; and had not then been built above thirty years: it is reported to have cost 14000. Crownes, which is an excessive summe in *China*. Toward Morning the Body of Father *Riccus* was brought thither, having been already laid in a Coffin, which was very well closed, and varnished over after the *Chinesse* Fashion. A great number of new *Christians* did accompany it, with lighted Candles in their hands, following the *Crosse* which was carried before very richly adorned; and for the present the

Coffin was put in a room on one side of the Chappel, that there might be a convenience to performe those ceremonies, which were requisite after the manner of *China*; after that, it was transferred to the *Dormitorie* already prepared for it. At the further end of the Garden there is a Chappell consisting of six sides; it is made of brick, and vaulted. From the sides come out two walls, built compassing in figure of a Semi-circle. This place was chosen by the Fathers for a *Coemeterie*, round about it there are four *Cypresses*, which are also among the *Chineffes* accounted mournfull and funerall Trees: they seemed as if they had been planted there on purpose, to shade the Tomb of Father *Riccus*, which was also built there of Brick; and the chief Idol being beaten to pieces, served in stead of Lime, that the Father might even after death, triumph in the destruction of Idols. They caused the Chappel of Idols to be cleansed, and consecrated it to Christ our Saviour. There was in the Hall a very stately Altar, whereon was placed the principall Idol, all gilt from head to foot, of a vast bignesse, called by the *Chineffes*, *Ticam*; and their conceit is, that he doth preside over the earth, and all treasures; and is the very same with *Pluto*, having a Scepter in his hand, and a Crowne on his head, just as we paint our Kings. On each side of him stood foure Ministers, or Servants, all made of the same matter; on each side of the Hall were placed Two great Tables, upon each of which stood five inferiour Kings of Hell, the same Kings were also to be seen painted on the walls of each side, sitting on a *Tribunall*, and condemning Sinners to the punishments and paines of Hell; there were also to be seen Painted horrible Devils, carrying Instruments of torment in their hands; and likewise severall sorts of punishments which are inflicted on the damned wretches, and their caverns full of flames, Serpents and terrible fiends. There was also Painted a great Ballance, and in one of the Scales was to be seen a man laden with sinnes and wickednesse, and in the other the book of prayers belonging to that Sect, which did out-weigh all the Sinnes, and deliver him who doth frequently rehearse them. There was also a River of fire, which swallowed up very many men; over it there were two Bridges, one of Gold, and the other of Silver; and over these did the Ministers of the Idols conduct men to places of pleasure and delight. There were also to be seen some of the *Bonzi*, who plucked their Fathers out of the flames and torments in despite of the Devils, and other such things, by which those Ministers did gain a great repute to themselves: and over every sort of torment there was this inscription, Whosoever shall call a thousand times upon the name of such an Idol, shall be delivered from this sort of punishment. All was thrown down and destroyed by our Servants, who strove who should do it fastest; by reason that the *Chineffes* do put into the bellies of their Idols, money, *Medals*, and also Jewels. The walls were playstered over a new, and over a new Altar was erected the Image of our *B. Saviour*.

On the day of all *Saints* the first Masse was celebrated there, with all possible Solemnitie, and with sound of Organs and other instruments. All the *Christians* were there present, and after a brief exhortation, the body of Father *Mattheus Riccius* was carried to the place of Sepulture by the chiefest of them, and followed by all the rest; particularly by Doc-
 tour

tour *Paul*, who loved him as a Father, and there, with the ceremonies of the Church he was entered, there having been first placed in that Chappell another Image of our Saviour. The Fathers also built there another little Chappell to the *B. Virgin* in a place convenient for that purpose, to which they had obliged themselves by a vow, which they made when they first undertook this business.

Finally over the first Gate they placed in two *Chineſſes* Characters this Inſcription, *By the Kings liberalitie*, which among them is counted a greater honour than will here eaſily be beleev'd. Curioſity brought many thither, to ſee the accommodation they had made, which was commended and admired by all: neither truly ought it to ſeem a ſmall matter, that in the face of the King and the Court, Alters ſhould be overturned, and Idols beaten to pieces by a few poor ſtrangers, and that too, even with approbation of the greateſt officers. This extraordinary Grace conferred by the King upon us was ſhortly after divulged in *Pekim*, which gave no ſmall ſtrength and vigour to our affaires there. Their houſes were more frequented, the Fathers better looked upon, and the fruits of the Goſpel daily encreaſed.

They had only four *Reſidencies* at that time, which was in the year 1610, but they were ſo diſpoſed, that they did as it were comprehend the whole Kingdome from South to North, upon the great road from *Canton* to *Pekim*, but the Fathers deſiring, after they had runne in a manner from pole to pole, to follow alſo the courſe of the Sunne, and to exalt the light of the Goſpel through the Eaſt and Weſtern parts, (where there are many famous Cities,) the occaſion was offered them by *Doctour Leo*; for his Father being dead, he was forced to leave his government, and to return into his Country to bury him; and to obſerve that Mourning, which is required by the cuſtome of the Country, wherefore he took along with him ſome of the Fathers, partly for his own particular conſolation, and to inſtruct the *Chriſtians* in his Familie, and to Baptiſe ſuch as had not yet been converted; and partly to endeavour to found a houſe in that his native City of *Hamchen*. The firſt happy encounter there, was that of *Doctour Tam*, named afterwards at his Baptiſm, *Michael*, who is much celebrated in our yearly letters. He was a *Mandarine*, of great account, and a Kinſman of *Doctour Leo*, and had been for ſeven years together Chancellour of the whole Province of *Nankim*, which is an Office of very great importance, and was very rich, of a great Houſe, and allyed to the principall Families of that Citie; and above all, he was very devout towards the *Pagods*, in ſo much that he had built a Temple for them within his own Palace, with a certain number of *Bonzi* to ſerve them, whom he maintained at his own charges. But he did this more out of ignorance than malice, and therefore the Lord ſhewed mercy unto him. He was one of the firſt that viſited the Fathers, and being very much addicted to the defence of his Religion, he began a very hot diſpute with a more than ordinarie zeal for the upholding of his Sect; the which he continued likewise the day following, and the next day, and ſo for nine dayes together, alwayes producing new arguments and propoſing new difficulties; not that he had a deſign

to impugne, but only to discover the truth. The ninth day he yeelded himselfe, crying out, *A true God, A true Law, A true Doctrine.* And after he had been very diligently *Catechised* and instructed, he was *Baptized*, to the great consolation of the *Fathers*, and also of *Dr. Leo*, (who did much rejoyce at it; and to the singular grieve and shame of the *Bonzi*, who were presently discarded, and their Temple converted into a Church dedicated to the *Saviour of the world*.)

Now did these two *Heroes* seem two firme and stable pillars, very proper to sustaine that infant Church, with a certain hope, that their example would draw many others to the law of *Christ*, and that there would be a flourishing *Christianitie* founded in that so populous a *Metropolis*, which in my opinion is the richest, the most delicious and magnificent in Temples and other structures of any in that Kingdom. But for the generalitie the least disposed to receive our *Holy faith*, whether it were then for this cause, or because their hour was not yet come, which required a greater disposition: there was so little fruit of the Gospel at that time, that the *Fathers* judged it better to give place to time, and for the present to leave that abode, and to finde out some other place, better disposed to receive the seed of faith. They proceeded so farre as to propose their intention to Father *Nicolaus Longobardus*, superiour of that *Mission*, who would neither approve, nor reject their opinion, but remitted the businesse to the judgement of the House at *Nankim*, where I was then at that time, and by the grace of God, we were there in all, nine of the Societie. The matter was debated, and it was resolved by all of us, that according as experience had taught us, they should proceed with patience and longanimitie, greater difficulties having been overcome by those weapons. So without any more thoughts of change, the *Fathers* remained labouring in that City, not knowing the great good which the Lord had there prepared for them, and which, time afterwards discovered; not only by founding there, one of the most numerous and best instructed Churches that is in *China*, but because that house was ever a safe Port to us in all Tempests, and a secure refuge in all persecutions, as shall be seen hereafter.

Christianitie also was much encreased in *Xauhoi*, the Country of *Dr. Paul*; for his Father and all his household had been *Baptized*, and many other people of that place: and although we had there no settled house, there was neverthelesse a Church, and every year the *Christians* were visited, both to confirme the old ones, and convert new ones.

In the foure ancient houses, the *Fathers* said Masse, preached and exercised the *Mysteries* and *Ceremonies* of our *Holy Faith*, very quietly and without any disturbance at all. The *Christians* exercised their devotion, and many *Gentiles* endeavoured to finde the way of their *Salvation*; the *Christian Religion* flourished every day more and more, with an abundant number of new *Converts*, and also of new *Labourers*, which were sent to us from *Macao*, where they were first instructed in the language and custome of the Country. In the mean time we were sent unto from many places and from severall persons, to desire us to come into their Country, and to preach the Gospel to them.

This City of *Vamschen*, which is neere unto *Nankim*, had so great a desire

fire to be made partakers of our doctrine; that the *Litterati* there wrot a letter to Father *Alphonsus Vagnone*, in *Nankim*, where he was at that time superiour, which was subscribed by forty of them, wherein they did invite the Father to come to them, with many prayers and entreaties, and very earnestly desired him, that he would not deferre his coming, & that good which they so much longed for. They did also the like in many other places; whether the fame of our *Holy Faith* was arrived, either by the books we had printed there, or by the relation of the *Gentiles*; (for these do sometimes serve as a guide to the rest, and I had once one of them, who did help me to *Catechise*) or else by their conversation with *Christians* themselves. And this was done with so much fervour, that really it seemed to us, the time was come, wherein, after all storms and tribulations were blown over, the winter was passed away, and the spring time began to appeare, bringing forth flowers worthy the sight of that celestiall *Gardiner*; or rather, that the crop was now ripe, and expected a happy harvest. The *Fathers*, being animated with these successes, and well pleased with the many occasions, which continually presented themselves, were not sparing to make good use of them, hoping that they would have been daily encreased. But who is able to comprehend the judgements of the Lord? Or who hath been his Councillour? Whilest things stood in this prosperous condition, whether it were for the sinnes of that Kingdom, or for ours in particular, or because the Lord was pleased to prove and exercise his servants, there was raised in *Nankim*, (where that house was founded with much quiet, and had continued in greater tranquility than the rest) the following persecution.

CHAP. 8.

A fierce persecution is raised against the Christians in Nankim.

THis *Persecution*, which was the most terrible of all we have yet suffered, began in the year 1615 upon this occasion which I shall relate.

There was this year sent from *Pekin* to *Nankim* a *Mandarine* called *Qui Xin*, to be an assistant of the third *Tribunall* named *Lipu*, which taketh cognizance of all *Rites*, *Sects*, *Strangers* and such like. This man, besides that he was extreemly averse both to our *Holy Faith*, and to the *Fathers*; and on the contrary, very much addicted to the worship of Idols, he had been stirred up by severall occasions, to beare a particular hatred towards us; First by reason of a booke written against our religion by a *Bonzo*, an intimate friend of his, which was so well confuted by *Dr. Paul*, that the *Bonzo* broke his heart with the very griefe and shame he conceived at it. Moreover the *Bonzi* of *Nankim*, had given him a handsome bribe, reported to be 10000 crownes, to drive us away; hoping thereby, that fire might be extinguished, which had been kindled against their Gods. To these may be added the

the spleen he had against *Dr. Paul* and *Dr. Michael*, who discoursing with him, the one in *Pekin*, and the other in *Ceehian*, did by such powerfull arguments vilify those Idols, he did worship, that, having nothing left to answer for himselfe, he converted his silence into rage, and his shame into venome. But his spite and malice was much more encreased, when he understood, that two *Memorials* had been presented to the King, by two *Mandarines* of great qualitie, wherein they did earnestly move the King, that the Fathers might be perswaded to translate the books of *Europe* into the *Chinesse* language, and that they should be employed in the reformation of their calendar; *Xin* not being able to digest, that strangers should be held in such esteeme, who were enemies to his sect, to the manifest danger and ruine of his Idols: and last of all, that which did strongly animate him to that enterprise, was the ambition he had to be *Colao*, hoping, that this his zeale for the ancient *Rites*, and for the religion of his *Fathers*, would aduance him to that dignitie; especially since it belonged to his office, to have a vigilant eye over such matters.

Therefore besides other things, which belonged to his charge and office, he caused a damnable *Information* to be drawne up against the *Fathers*, proving therein by feigned and colourable reasons, that they ought to be banished the Kingdom. He said they had intruded themselves into *China* without leave, making use, for prooffe thereof, of a certain *Memoriall* which we have formerly mentioned to have been made by the students of *Nankim*, wherein they besought the *Mandarines* to banish the *Fathers* out of the Kingdom, as persons who were very pernicious to the *Common-wealth*, and had secret *Machinations* against the King and Kingdom; for said they, if it be not for this reason, for what other end and purpose are they come with so much eagernesse and zeale into another world, and had abandoned their owne habitations and estates? The other *Testimonies* which he brought, were other such like impostures, wherewith a neighbour of ours in *Nankim* had furnished him; that many nights in the year, under pretense of some solemnitie concerning the divine worship, there were many great assemblies held in our house consisting of thousands of men and women (a most grosse lie) and that before the break of day they all dispersed themselves to their owne houses; that every new *Christian* had given him five false duckats, made by *Alchemy*, after he had been enrolled in a list, which they kept of them, and that they had strange and barbarous names imposed upon them at their admittance, and were taught to make the signe of the crosse upon their forehead, to serve them as a marke of distinction in the time of their rebellion and insurrection. That they had their houses full of Armes, and other such like lies very well coloured over.

Of all these arguments put together he framed a *Memoriall*, which he presented to the King in the *Month* of *May* 1616. The substance whereof was, *Our entrance by stealth into the Kingdome. The propagation of a Law contrary to that of the Idols, which had been the religion of their Ancestours. The concurrence which there was in high Titles between our God and their King, betwixt our West and their East. Our subletie and craft in gaining of friends. The destruction of the Astrologie of China as false and erroneous, occasioned by the reading of that of Europe, and such like things. The conclusion of it was,*
That

That it was necessary for the publike good, that he should cause a generall Massacre both of the Fathers and the rest of the Christians, before their force and number could prove dangerous to the Kingdom.

To this *Memoriall*, which was presented to the King very secretly, there was no answer returned within the usuall time. Neverthelessse, *Dr. Michael* had notice of it by means of a *Mandarine*, who was a friend both to him, and to the said *Xin*: he presently gave advise thereof to the *Fathers*, with directions what they should do. He wrote many letters to severall *Mandarines* in our favour, and one directed to *Xin*, wherein without discovering that he knew his intention, he confuted all his arguments against the *Fathers* and their religion. Last of all, he invited the *Fathers* to retire themselves to his house in the City of *Hamcheu*, untill the storme were over. In the mean time, we laboured to obtain the help and succour of Almighty God, by re-doubling our prayers and mortifications; and withall, we went to *Dr. Leo*, who lived two dayes journey off, and shewed him the *Apologie* written by *Dr. Michael* for our assistance and counsell, to which he added a discourse in commendations of the *Fathers*, and of their religion; and by their hands he disperfed many advertisements necessary for that time and occasion, throughout the whole City: neither were the *Fathers* wanting with fervent exhortations to do the office of *faithfull Pastours*, animating and encouraging all to suffer for the defence of Gods honour, and his *Holy Religion*. And the *Christians*, striving who should prepare himselfe best against the storme, frequented our house and the *Holy Sacraments*, and tooke counsell how to carry themselves in case of *Persecution*. There was among the rest a prudent and learned person named *John Vao*, who had prepared foure small banners, wherein he wrote his name, Sir-name, and Country, and the *Christianitie* both of himselfe and of his familie; which might serve him for ensignes of his profession in time of *Persecution*; neither did he cease to declare himselfe to be such, and to exhort others to a constant confession of their faith.

Three Months after the first *Memoriall*, *Xin* having received no answer from the King, presented another to the same purpose by the hand of *Xamxù*, who was *Lipu* of the third *Tribunall* in *Pekim*, having perswaded him also to frame another of the same Tenour, and to present it along with his. The *Mathematician*, who had perswaded the *Fathers* to correct and amend the *Chinesse Calendar*, discovered their plot, and privately taking a copy of their petitions, he gave it to the *Fathers* and to *Dr. Paul*, who in one night wrote an *Apologie* for the *Fathers* to present to the King; when there was occasion, and dispatched a *Mandarine*, his disciple, a man very well versed in the manage of affaires at Court, to the *President* of *Lipu*, that having sufficiently informed him of the truth, he might perswade him not to favour the intentions of *Xin*. This *President* concealed the venome he had in his heart under faire and specious promises; but in effect, he gave in a most pernicious *Memoriall*, wherein he affirmed, That the request of *Xin* was so just and necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom, that for his part he should have thought he had done well, if without expecting any other leave from the King, but only by the duty of his place, he had dispatched orders throughout all the Provinces for the
extermi-

extermination and banishment of all the *Fathers*, excepting only those of *Pekim*, because he saw them well backt and supported; taxing by these words both the King and the *Mandarines* who did protect them. The *Memorall* was so handsomely woven, and the words placed so equivocally, that he could have given them quite another interpretation, if need had required.

These two *Memorials*, the one of *Xin*, and the other of the *President*, were presented on the fifteenth of *August*, and after that a third, that we could get no intelligence of, till it was presented. On the twentieth of the same month they were published, according to the *Stile* of *China*, by expresse *Curriers*, throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, together with a particular order from the *President*, for the imprisonment of the *Fathers*. The people were amazed to see three *Mandarines* conspire against those, whom the whole Kingdom had admired, and whom almost all the *Letterati* had respected, visited, and esteemed; but they well perceived, that these accusations were but forged calumnies, which proceeded from a corrupt and malicious spirit.

On the thirtieth of the same moneth, about midnight, by means of a *Currier* dispatched for that purpose, by the *Quoi* of *Pekim*, the news came to the *Fathers* in *Nankim* of what had passed at Court. Immediately they ran to the Church, and presented themselves as Victims and Sacrifices unto the Lord; and afterwards packing up their Pictures, and the sacred Vessels that belonged to the Church, they conveyed them thence into the House of a *Christian*, hoping by that meanes to secure them. As soon as it was day, the *Fathers*, *Nicolaus Longobardus* superiour of the *Mission*, and *Julius Lenis*, departed towards *Pekim*, to give what assistance they were able to the rest. There remained in *Nankim* the *Fathers* *Alphonfus Vagnone* and *Alvarus Semedo* (the Author of this Relation,) who expected every moment, when they should be seized on by the Sergeants and Executioners. Not long after, came three *Mandarines* to us from the *President* of the Councill of warre, to give us notice, that that *President* and *Xin* were deputed to put the Proclamation in execution, which had been lately issued for our banishment out of that Kingdom; nevertheless, they seemed to condole with us, because, as they said, they were very well satisfied, both of our innocence and deserts; yet advised us to give place willingly to force, before we should be necessitated to undergo the discourteous and barbarous usage of *Xin*: and that the *President* would give order, that we might not receive any affront, nor molestation in our journey; also one of the three did advise us as from himself, that we should not make too much hast, for that he hoped through our Innocence, and the favour of the *Fathers* friends at *Pekim*, these troubles would shortly be appeased.

Toward the evening, there was a company of Souldiers sent by *Xin* to beset the House, and about the break of day, the first of September, there appeared three Sergeants to apprehend the *Fathers*, and to search every hole and corner of the house: and although they had a speciall order from *Xin* to abuse and evill intreate the *Fathers*, nevertheless they carried themselves very courteously, and sent in their message in writing to
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Father *Vagnone*, which is a great poynt of *Civilitie* in *China*. They set a guard upon the doores, and made an inventory of whatsoever they found in the House.

In the meane while Father *Vagnone* sent a Christian, called *Donatus*, under pretence that he was our *Caterer*, to Father *Longobardus*, to tell him what had happened, and to advise him to take heed, that he did not fall into the enemies clutches. *Donatus* did his message, and returned with provision for our supper in his hands, although he was jeared by the Souldiers, that he would returne into the cage of his owne accord, yet he preferred that prison before the liberty he might have enjoyed elsewhere. For at the very first rumour of the persecution, He returned to the house purposely to serve us, being resolved either to live or die with us for the defence of that faith, of which (though he was of very young years) he was so zealous and observant; having converted many; and in effect, God did give him the grace to suffer much for his religion; both in imprisonment and stripes, he was our constant companion.

When the inventory was finished, to the great edification of the Sergeants, who did not expect to finde such povertie; and when they had sealed our chests and whatsoever could be shut up, they carryed away Father *Vagnone* in a sedan, and brought him before *Xin*, leaving Father *Semedo* lying sick in a chamber, which they had sealed up. Assoone as he was brought out, there was a great noyse and shouting made by the meaner sort of people, and so great a crowde, that the Officers were forced to make their way by blowes. After they had gone two miles, they stayed according to the orders which *Xin* had given, at the house of the *Tauli*, who was a Kinsman of *Xins*, spending at least two houres in giving him an account of what had passed: during which time, Father *Vagnone* was left in the open street exposed to the injuries, scoffes and abuses of the insolent people. At length the Sergeants being returned, made their excuses to the Father, for their long stay, and so carried him to prison, recommending him to the *Gaolers*, as an innocent person.

A little after, the chief of the Sergeants sent him from his House a good Supper and a bed; the other Sergeants did also the like in their turns, every one taking his day. There were two of our domestique Servants who waited upon Father *Vagnone* in the prison; one whereof was called *Ciam Matthew*, he was a very zealous Christian, and for three years before, had retired himselfe to our house, that he might with more liberty serve God, and waite upon the Fathers, without expecting any other recompense, but that of the next life. This man, assoone as the Sergeants were come into our house, presented himselfe first of all to give them his name, that he might have the opportunitie to be carryed along with the Fathers, as in effect he was, and gained a happy crowne by this Persecution.

At the news of the imprisonment of Father *Vagnone*, the Christians inflamed with zeale, ran to our house, neither could the guards hinder some of them from going in. The most zealous of all the rest was *John Yao*, who sticking in his cap one of the above mentioned banners, and holding up in his right hand a scrowl of paper, wherein were contained the chiefe heads of our religion, and the necessity of them, being asked by the guard,

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what he meant by it, answered, To die with the *Fathers* like a *Christian* for the faith of Christ. The Souldiers were much astonished at that answer; yet they put a halter about his neck, and lead him to the *Mandarines*, where being asked, what he was, answered boldly and with a loude voice, That he was a *Christian*, & that he came to give an account of the law of Christ, if they would be pleased to hearken to him. They immediately caused the halter to be taken from about his neck, and gave him a seat to rest himselfe on; much admiring his resolution and constancy, the like whereof had not till that time been seen in *China*.

In the mean time, *Xin* understanding that the Sergeants had left one Father in the house, and used the other civilly, was very angry, and reproved them sharply for it, commanding them to go next morning to a garden, which we had without the City for our recreation, telling them they should finde there store of armes concealed; and at their returne to carry the other Father to prison. They found nothing in the garden of what they looked for; but they carried Father *Semedo* out of the house to prison, together with foure servants, and foure other *Christians*, who had come into the house, as also brother *Sebastian Fernandes*, and another student, who was a native of the City of *Macao*.

The *Christians* of *Nankim* wrote an account of what had happened, to Father *Longobardus*, who was departed for *Pekim*. The messenger over-tooke him in *Cauxen*, where he presently consulted with Dr. *Leo*, who was Governour at that time of two territories; it was resolved, that the Father should go alone to *Pekim*, that he might the more easily be suffered to passe, and that he should leave his companion there. He furnished him with an hundred crownes to defray such expenses as should be requisite for the making of their defence. He wrote also to severall *Mandarines* of *Nankim*, and to the *Vice-roy* himselfe. He procured many letters from his friends to others in the Court in favour of the prisoners: he comforted them with letters, and mony, and cloaths against winter, which began to grow very sharpe; neither was his fortitude inferiour to his charity, resisting valiantly his kindred and friends, who did every day set upon him to perswade him to leave that so open defence and protection of the *Fathers*, which might prove so prejudiciall and dangerous to him; but he gave them so good reasons for what he did, that they were all silenced, and he and his whole family persevered in the way they had begun.

Dr. *Michael* shewed himselfe no lesse zealous, assoone as he understood the newes by the letters, which were sent him by the *Christians* of *Nankim* and *Nanham*; for he advised the Father who was at *Hamken*, (for the other was gone to visit the *Christians* thereabouts) that he should get him gone out of the City; which accordingly he did with many teares of the *Christians*, and fervour and zeale of the *Catechumeni*, who accompanied him to the boote; as did Dr. *Michael* likewise and his two sonnes, and a brother of his, who was a *Gentile*, and three other *Letterati*, walking on foote a great way, that cold and wet season of the year. He gave also a hundred crownes to that lay-brother, whom the Fathers sent to *Cauxen*, to Father *Longobardus*, towards the expence of his voyage, the which mony Father *Longobardus* sent afterwards by the same brother to *Nankim*, for the reliefe of our prisoners.

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When *Longobardus* was arrived at *Pekim*, he found the *Fathers*, *Jacobus Pantoia*, and *Sabbatinus D' Orsi*, who negotiated our businesse, according to the directions and instructions of *Dr. Paul*. It is hardly credible, what care and paines he tooke in writing of letters and learned *Apologies*, and all other imaginable diligences, both openly and under-hand, for the defence of the *Christian Religion*, which things I forbear to mention here, because they shall be related in his life. Yet for all this, was he never able to get a *Memoriall* passed to the Kings hands, *Xin* having craftily shut up all entrance to him; nevertheless those *Apologies* were dispersed through the whole Kingdom, and did sufficiently manifest the malice of our adversaries, and the injustice of the persecution.

While the *Christians* with one accord endeavoured to make our innocence appeare, and defended it with all their might, *Xin* grew still the more outrageous against the *Christians*, and particularly against the poore prisoners. He suffered them not to be together above five daies, but commanded they should be separated and put into five severall prisons, and very strictly forbid they should be allowed any conversation or visits, strengthening their guards, upon pretence, that those men could vanish out of sight when they pleased. But he was extreamly vexed, when he saw he could not so colour his cause, but that it appeared to most men to be unjust, and occasioned meerly by malice; as also observed, that the *Mandarines* shewed us the same kindnesse and respect, as they had done in the time of our prosperity: but that which afflicted him most was the joy and cheerfulness, which all those prisoners shewed in their sufferings for the love of Christ, without ever giving any signe of sadness, or discontent, in all their misery.

Xin not being able to shake the constancy of men, would needs try whether he could overcome the courage of children, commanding that five boyes, who were left behind in our house by reason of their tender years, should be apprehended by the officers and carryed to prison: an act which was accounted barbarous, even in the opinion of those that did not favour us. He deprived of his degree of *Batchelor Philippe Sin*, who was Master of the *Chinesse* tongue to the *Fathers*; who foreseeing the blow, kept himselfe retired for a while in his house: But as soone as the occasion of his *Degradation* was published, which was for having taught the language to the *Fathers*, then he went abroad, rejoycing publickly, that he had had the honour to obtain a more noble degree, by suffering for the faith of *Jesus Christ*.

After this, *Xin* did very much endeavour to finde out some letter, written by *Dr. Leo*, or *Dr. Paul*, or by the *Fathers*; that he might pick some occasion out of it to raise a calumny upon them: but this attempt proving fruitlesse, he betooke himselfe to compasse his desire by a sleight, writing to *Dr. Leo* in the name of Father *Vagnone*, on purpose to draw an answer from him, which he might censure, and make his owne comment upon; which in *China* is no hard thing to do, by reason of the custome they have of writing and sealing letters with the hand and seale of another: But neither did this invention take effect. For *Dr. Leo* presently discovered the cheat by the stile & maner of writing, & did but laugh at him for his pains.

In the mean time there arrived at *Nankim*, that lay-brother, who was sent from Father *Longobardus* to assist the prisoners and *Christians* there; where he found *Ignatius Hya*, a learned man, a good *Christian*, and kinsman of *Dr. Leo*, who was sent thither from *Cauxen*, to cause an *Apologie*, which the *Dr.* had written, to be printed and dispersed in that Court. This lay-brother undertooke the care of the presse, and having chosen out *Six Christians* of the Art, he carried on the worke in a private garden that belonged to one of them. The uncle of this *Christian* to whom the garden belonged, wherein the presse was, having counselled them in vain to desist, by reason of the danger they put him in, went and discovered it to *Xin*, who gave him a good gratuity for his news; and that night sent Officers, who tooke them all and brought them before *Xin*, who was very joyfull to have found this new occasion of traversing the *Fathers*. They were sent to prison, and shortly after carryed before that *Tauli*, who was a kinsman of *Xin*: who having read the *Apologie*, and understood the cause, finding nothing in it to lay hold upon, to free himselfe of the trouble, sent them to another *Tauli*, who imitating the first, sent them before another great *Mandarine*; who having heard the cause, said they were not guilty of any thing; and to conclude the businesse, gave his sentence in writing, That those men ought in justice to be set at libertie; but if they were to have any chastisement, he thought fifteen *Bastinadoes* to the chiefe of them would be sufficient; and that his opinion was they ought to be set at liberty, without being sent any more to any other *Tribunall*: neverthelesse, he remanded them back to *Xin* out of the respect he bore to his great office, fully perswading himselfe, that he would set them at libertie.

When *Xin* heard the sentence, he was ready to burst with rage and anger: but not knowing how to help it for the present, he sent them to prison to Father *Vagnone*, after he had caused fifteen *Bastinadoes* to be given the poore brother in so cruell a manner, that he was in great pain and misery. I will not stand now to recount the villanies and outrages which they suffered, whilest they were remanded from one *Tribunall* to another; that tempest of *Cuffes*, *Kicks*, *Thrusts*, boxes of the eare, spitting upon, dirt throwing in their faces, pulling of the haire of their heads and beards, and other infolencies, which use to be done there to poore prisoners, when the money floweth not largely to the Officers; as it happened to these poore *Christians*; leaving all to the consideration of the pious Reader.

After this, they were sent by *Xin* to the *Mandarines* of his *Tribunall* to be examined; the examination lasted six houres upon these Articles: *What law is this law of yours? How came you into China? How do your professors live? How do they maintain themselves? What Government have they? What commerce with Macao, and the Fathers of that place?* But at length the examination was ended without torments, by means of a *Mandarine*, who was a Countreman of *Dr. Paul*, and *Dr. John*, from whom he had received letters in favour of us. *Xin* was highly enraged at this, and having sharply reproved the *Mandarine*, he removed the cause from that *Tribunall*, and sent it to a higher Court, desiring the *Tauli* thereof to put on rigour in such a cause as this was. They were examined by him for a little while, and having pardoned the rest, he commanded twenty stripes to be given to

Vu Paul, who was owner of the Garden, and twenty more to the Lay-brother, whose wounds were not yet healed which he had received by the other fifteen stripes; and so sent them to *Xin*, who not contented with these torments, sent them again to the *Mandarines* of his own *Tribunall*, where they were examined a new; and for the Satisfaction of *Xin*, were racked (after that manner which we have described, when we spake of the torments among the *Chineses*) to make them confesse that which they knew not. These valiant *Christians* were very ill handled by these tormentours; not having any crime to confesse, they were accused to have perswaded several Women to turne *Christians*, assisting therein Father *Vagnone*; wherefore by a new Sentence they were all *Basinadoed* in the manner above-said, except a very old man, and two of the Printers, who were *Gentiles*. But seeing the Lay-Brother and *Vu Paul* so torne and wounded with the *Stripes* they had received, they gave over, and sent them back to Prison.

They being cured and healed there by Father *Vagnone*, as well as he could possible, in that misery and poverty he was in, fifteen dayes after they were brought again before *Xin*, who examining them very particularly, said to the Brother, *What kind of Law is that of yours, which holdeth forth for a God, a man who was executed for a Malefactor?* Whereupon the Brother took occasion, with a great deale of Spirit, to open the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation* to him. The *Tyrant* would not endure that liberty of speech: but to take off his promptnesse, commanded there should be twenty stripes given him; and as his former wounds were not quite healed, he endured an incredible pain in having them opened again with new blowes; which were laid on so lustily, that the blood spurted as farre as where *Xin* sat; by which being, as it were, more inflamed, he grew out-ragious against the young man, whom he beleev'd to have brought the *Apology* of *Docteur Paul* from *Pekin*, which although it were false, yet that he might not discover the true bringer, he under-went willingly a furious load of stripes, for the love of *Christ*, and for his *Holy Faith*. After this, they were led through the City to the Prison, which was three miles off; whither notwithstanding the Brother was carried upon a board, being of himself not able to move.

The courage and desire of these *Valiant Confessours* grew still the stronger, by how much these torments had weakned their Body. They had no other regret, but that they had not lost their lives together with their blood; and so in the healing of their wounds, which being almost frozen by reason of the extraordinary cold, required new cuttings and incisions from the hands of those unskilfull Surgeons of the Prison, they rejoyced in those new torments which they suffered in so glorious a cause. All the sorrow and trouble fell to the lot of *Xin*, who still thirsting after *Christian* blood, remitted the cause of these Prisoners to the judge criminall. But the successe fell out contrary to his expectation, for that Judge, after he had conferred with *Xon Xu*, the President of his *Tribunall*, concerning the enditement of these Prisoners, pronounced them innocent: but that nevertheless, they were to expect what the Kings pleasure would be concerning them. In the meane time he gave them good words, and sent them

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back to Prison; but after five dayes, he set them at libertie, and sent them home to their Houses, under pretence of getting their wounds healed.

CHAP. 9.

*The Continuation of the Persecution,
and the Banishment of the Fa-
thers out of China.*

AS soon as *Xin* was acquainted with the Sentence which the Judge *Criminall* had given, he began to contrive new Troubles for them, that he might not seem to have persecuted Innocent Persons. First he writ and disperfed abroad libels against those *Christians*, accusing them to have printed an Apologie against certain of the chiefeft *Mandarines*, in favour of the *Fathers*, who were Traytours and Disturbers of the peace of the Kingdome. After that, he privately stirred up the *Censors* of the people who had recourse to him, as to their Superiour, to receive rules from him for the ordering of the lives and manners of the people. The answer he gave them was, That they should take heed of *Fa Vagnone* and his companions, who were Seducers of the people, and disturbers of the publick peace, by teaching a law, which did infringe their fidelitie to their Prince, the reverence of their Ancestors, the worship of the Gods, and the exercise of all other vertues, which have been from all times so highly esteemed in *China*; and in the conclusion, much deplored the misery and unhappinesse of those times, wherein there were so many Persons, who suffered themselves to be bewitched by such Deceivers.

Upon this, there was a *Mandarine* of the *Tribunall* of *Xin*, and two other *Doctours* of small esteem and reputation, who began to write against the *Fathers*, and one of them in particular, who had formerly been in the *Philippine* Islands, wrote, That the *Christians* did worship a *Crucified Man*; That they signed their Foreheads with the *Crosse*; That they set it on the top of their Houses and Steeples, and wore it about their necks as a Jewel; That under pretence of Preaching their Law, they had made themselves Masters of the *Philippines*, of *Malacca*, and of the *Indies*; That of late years they had slain many *Chineffes* upon no occasion given them; That their Religious men did commit horrible *Sacriledge* with the women, who frequented their Churches, drawing out all their Secrets from them under a pretence of Piety; That the designe of their coming into *China* was to conquer the Kingdom, under colour of such deceits and impostures; and that therefore undoubtedly they ought to be droven out thence, as the pest and plague of the *Common Wealth*. Besides these writings, published by *Xin*, and sent to the Court of *Pekim*, he laboured so powerfully with the *Tribunals* of *Pekim*, that he perswaded them to present a *Memoriall* to the King against the *Fathers*, and the law which they Preached; and pro-
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cured also to have it signed with the Seale of the *Eunuch*, who is there in stead of *Vice-roy*.

This *Memoriall* was presented the last day of *September*; the day following they gave in another, wherein they besought the King to give a dispatch to the *Memorials* already presented. On the eighth of *October*, *Xin* presented a third; on the thirteenth day he caused a fourth to be presented by the hand of a *Tauli*; and afterward a fifth by meanes of a certain *Coli* of *Nankim*, who was one of the Kings *Remembrancers*.

For all this the Kings answer did not yet appeare, and in the meane while *Doctour Paul* wrote his second *Apologie* against all these calumnies and *Slanders*, which being joyned to his first, and to that which *Doctour Machael* made, and other *Memorials* and *Treatises*, made a good large volume. Thus did that primitive Church glory to defend the honour of their Holy Faith, both with their bloud and pens. The writings of our Doctours were Authorized by the patience of our Prisoners, who cheerfully under-went all the ill usage which was shewn them; partly for the satisfaction of *Xin*; and partly for want of money; the *Tyrant* not suffering the least thing in the world to be brought to us from our House. They lay three months in the worst place of all the Prison, with Manacles on their armes: their food was only a little Rice ill-boyled, and a few hearbs without any Seasoning; and this too alwayes cold, they boiling still as much at once as might serve them three or foure dayes. If there were any Almes sent them from the *Christians*, either all or part of it was stollen from them by the Prisoners and guards, who alwayes swarmed about them like Waspes.

Father *Semedo*, and Brother *Sebastian Fernandes* were put together in one Prison, where by way of an extraordinarie favour they had allowed them half a Duck Egge a piece, dried and salted in stead of hearbs; and although two of those Egges at least be sold for a farthing, yet was one of them divided between two men. Father *Semedo* lay continually sick nine moneths together, and through the convenience of this worthy Infirmarie, and the charity of his tenders, he was twice in great danger of death; although he was once pardoned the *Bastinadoes* he should have received by reason they found him in so weak a condition.

The other *Christians* fell sick likewise through their great sufferings and durance; wherefore there were severall times *Memorials* presented to *Xin*, to desire liberty, according to the custome, for them to go to their own Houses to recover themselves, having first given in good security for their returne. But there were only two or three who could obtain this leave, and that for foure dayes only: so that two happily ended their lives, only through the hardship they endured. The one of them was called *Peter Hya* of *Nankim*, aged about 22 years: he had been five years a *Christian*, of a very exemplarie life; in which time he vowed perpetuall *Chastitie*, and endeavoured to preserve it by frequent penances, and by keeping a strict watch upon his senses; not looking upon so much as his neereft Kinf-women; as also by frequent prayer day and night; insomuch that his knees were become horny and callous. He came every day to *Masse*, although he lived four miles off: he was very discreet in his speech,
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and of a sincere conscience, endeavouring to avoyd every small imperfections, and the least shadow of evill. What he got by the handy-craft trade he used, he still gave part of it to his parents, and the poore *Christians*: he was very patient of injuries, saying, He ought to be a lambe who would imitate *Christ*; and such a one did he shew himselfe to be, more than ever, in his last sicknesse: for it being contrary to the lawes of that Kingdom to suffer any prisoner to die in prison, *Xin* sent to the Father of the said *Peter*, that he should take him home till he were recovered; but the Father through more hatred to his sonne, because he was a *Christian*, would not receive him. Then *Xin* sent him by the Sergeants to his Mother-in-law, who because she was an *Idolatresse*, used him very wickedly, yet did he never shew the least signe of discontent, but alwaies of modesty and admirable patience. At length, when he was neere death, he was fetcht back into prison, from whence he flew into eternall libertie. And this was the first lay-man who died there in prison for his religion; his corps was granted to his Father to bury it, but without any Ceremony at all.

The second who dyed in prison was called *Hierome Vem*; he was taken in our house coming thither to assist us: he also died of pure sufferance. His wife presented many *Memorials* to the *Mandarines*, that he might be brought home to recover his health, but all was in vaine. At length she had recourse to *Xin*, who understanding that her husband was a *Christian*, gave her no other answer but this, You see what good you get by the religion they professe; and with this answer left her disconsolate and quite out of hope: not long after her husband died with so much the more glory, by how much the lesse he had of humane help, in that sicknesse he so patiently endured for the love of *Iesus Christ*, and the maintenance of his religion.

The death of these men did stirre up in the rest of the *Christian* prisoners a holy envie, and a new fervour to suffer for *Christ*; neither were the *Christians* without wanting to shew themselves true followers of that persecuted religion. They divided the prisons among them, so that every day the *Christian* prisoners were visited, and succoured as much as might be, and had also notice given them of the designs and proceedings of *Xin*, and the other *Mandarines*: neither were they content with this, but relieved also the wives and children of the prisoners, pawning sometimes their household-stuffe, that they might not want wherewithall to do it.

Captain *Ignatius Cin*, although he was but newly converted to the faith, yet was as forward and eminent in this work of *Charitie*, as could possibly be desired; as also three other families, with the hazzard of being made infamous for ever; namely, that of *Lucius Ciam*, Captain of armes; that of *Andrew Hiam* a smith; and that of *Francis* a guilden; where I cannot but admire, the great charity of the said *Andrew*, who having received some crownes from Father *Vagnone* for the reliefe of the prisoners, made no use of them, but by the daily pains and labour of himselfe and his sonne, made provision every day for two prisons, restoring afterwards to the Father the mony he had put in his hands. There were also certaine devout *Christian* women, who making a purse out of the fruit of their labors, bestow'd it in the prisons according to the necessities of the prisoners: there

there was also one, who being himselfe a prisoner, spared still something out of the penny, which was given him every day for his maintenance: and when he had made up a small summe, he divided it among the most necessitous of the prisoners, with so much the greater liberalitie, by how much the industry of that *Charitie* was more subtle.

At the beginning, when the *Fathers* were first apprehended, there were not wanting certain wicked persons, who feigning themselves to be ministers of justice, went from house to house to disturbe the *Christians*, on purpose to draw mony from them; and if in searching every corner of the house, they happened to finde any Images, they threatned to accuse them to *Xin*. This lasted till a *Mandarine*, who had notice of this roguery, apprehended many of them, and caused them to be well *Bastinadoed*, and one of them for no other cause, but that he had inform'd against a man to the *Tauli*, that he was a *Christian*. Neverthelesse, there were some accused before *Xin*, only for being *Christians*; he accepted the accusation, and remitted it to the Court *Criminall*, whither the highest offenders are sent. They were rigorously examined, and after that declared innocent, with a foule stain upon *Xin*, both of injustice and ignorance.

Neither was the infamy lesse which he received by the words of two great *Mandarines*. The one of them (called *Hò*) in a great assembly of *Letterati*, asked him, For what reason he had imprisoned the *Fathers*? and he answering; Because they preached a law contrary to theirs; the other replied, Why do you not then imprison so many others, who follow laws much more contrary to ours, than that of the *Fathers* is? They have not, said *Xin*, any accusers. And these *Fathers*, replied *Hò*, Who accuseth them to your Lordship? He knew not what answer to make him, but seeing himselfe thus confuted, lest there should be a laughter raised at him, he withdrew himselfe out of the *Assemblée*. The other, who was *President* of the *Tribunall* of warre, sharply reproved him, that without reason he had so mis-used the *Fathers*, who had committed no fault, nor had ever offended him: And although *Xin* did endeavour to justifie himselfe, yet the *President* threatned to accuse him to the King, for a disturber of the peace of the Kingdome, and in effect he dispatched a *Courrier* to *Pekin*, with a stoute *Memoriall* against him; which neverthelesse he did afterwards re-call, by reason that many *Mandarines* did interpose themselves in the businesse; but he would never after maintain any friendship with so unjust a person.

Very admirable at the same time was the *Charitie* of a new *Christian* of *Pekin*, who had taken the degree of *Batchelor*; who having understood of the *Fathers* imprisonment, ranne to *Nankim*; and although he had never seen them, he went to visit them, and much assisted them in their necessities: and not only invited, but also perswaded severall of his friends to do the like; who extended also their *Charitie* to the other *Christian* prisoners: And for this cause only he remained there many months; he accompanied the *Christians* to the *Tribunalls*, healed their stripes, encouraged and comforted them all; to which the quality and reputation of so grave and learned a person did very much conduce. He undertooke also to dispute with a *Mandarine*, who had written a declaration against the *Fathers* in

favour of *Xin*, and used such powerfull perswasions to him, that he changed his resolution, and brought him to favour the *Fathers* so farre, that he did publicly praise and extoll them.

In the mean while, our adversary seeing that the Kings answer was delayed, used his utmost endeavour to gaine the *Colao* to his party, who was (otherwise) not much averse to us; and at length perswaded him to present a *Memoriall* to the King, by the hands of an *Eunuch*, whom he had already prepared for the businesse with a very great bribe, to procure the Kings order upon it. The *Eunuchs* passed this pition so secretly among themselves, that without showing it to the King, they brought it againe to the *Colao*, requiring him in the Kings name to draw up an order for our banishment; the which he did in this manner.

For as much as we are informed by the Collaterall Lypu of the third Tribunall of Pekim, that there remain in this our Court certain strangers, who do expect our good leave and dispatch; and the said Tribunall hath besought us, that we would send our orders to the Provinces, that they should send them away to their owne Countries, Alphonfus Vagnone and Jacobus Pantoia with their companions, who under pretence of preaching a certain law, do much disturbe the people, and also secretly endeavour to make an insurrection in the Kingdom: We do therefore ordaine, that notice be given to the Lypu of Nankim, to give order to the Mandarinnes of the respective Provinces, wherein any of these men shall be found, that they send them with a guard of Souldiers to the Province and City of Canton, to the end they may returne from thence to their owne Countries, leaving China in peace and quietnesse. And because the last year we were given to understand by severall persons, that Jacobus Pantoia and his companions, who came into this Kingdome to enjoy the delights and pleasures thereof, were very fit to be employed in the emendation of our Calender, whereupon they were aggregated to the number of the Mandarinnes; yet notwithstanding the said aggregation, we will and command, that they be forthwith dismissed, and sent away to their owne Countries. Let this sentence be given to the Lypu and to the Ciayan the twenty eighth of the twelfth Moone.

Assoone as this Order was drawne up, at the foot of the *Memoriall*, the *Colao* sent it back into the *Palace* to be signed by the King according to the custome. Presently the *Eunuchs* being all gained by the Presents of *Xin*, fraudulently contrived a way to get it subscribed; or, as some say, they put it among a great heape of petitions, so that the King signed it without taking notice what it was; or as others say, they perswaded the Queen to subscribe it, to whom the King doth often remit the signing of *Memorialls*. And truly it is not very probable, that the King who had lent but a deafe care to so many former *Memorialls*, should be so soone perswaded to it; besides that, it is more conformable to the stile of that Court to have sent them rather to some Province lying in the middle of the Kingdom, than to send them away after they had gained so perfect a knowledge and full information of the affaires of *China*. However it was, the sentence was published the fourteenth of *February*, which is the solemne beginning of their new year.

The news was blowne of a sudden through the whole Kingdome: The Mandarinnes of *Nanchium* in the Province of *Canton*, where Father *Gaspar Ferrera*

Ferrera was, did in a very quiet and civill manner give him notice of the order, allowing him with all liberty to stay till his companions came. Notwithstanding, the Father thought it more fit to sell the House, and to retire himselfe to another *Mission*, according to the instructions he had received from Father *Longobardus*. In *Hamlin* there were two Fathers, who were brought thither by *D of our Michaels* meanes; but they had no notice given them of the Order, the *Mandarines* forbearing, as it seemeth, to do it, out of respect to their Protectour, who writ to the Father superiour to send him two more, which accordingly he did with very good successe. Father *John Rocca* with two others of *Nanchiam*, where he left Brother *Pasquel Mendez* for the consolation of those Christians, came to *Chien Chiam* in the Province of *Chiamfi*, where he kept himselfe private in the Houses of the Christians, untill the Lord sent better times.

In *Pekin* the *Colao* made excuses to the *Fathers*, in that he was obliged by his place to give them notice of the Kings Order, promising them also his Assistance to hinder their going, in case they should think good to present a *Memoriall* to the King to that effect. But all passages were so shut up, that it was impossible for them ever to present one: wherefore giving place to time and necessity, having encouraged the *Christians*, after the distribution of *Palmes*, that very *Sunday* they departed for *Canton*, the *Mandarines* having strictly forbid the people to offer them any injuries by the way: and left the House which the King had granted them in the custody of a good *Christian*, having obtained a licence of the *Mandarines* to that effect.

The greatest stirre was in *Nankim*, where assoon as the *Courier* was arrived, he would needs give notice himselfe to the *Fathers* of their banishment, thinking it a high favour, that they were not cut in pieces. Assoon as it was known abroad, the *Mandarines* came to visit them with much honour and congratulations. On the sixt day of *March*, the *Fathers* were brought first before a *Tribunall* of six *Mandarines*, and after that, before *Xin* to be examined, with a halter about their necks, and Father *Semedo* was brought upon a board, not being able through weaknesse to stand upon his leggs. *Xin* after another examination, declared, That although they had deserved death for preaching a new law in *China*, yet their life was granted them by the Kings clemencie; notwithstanding, he condemned them to receive ten *Bastinadoes* apiece, and so to be sent away to their own Country. Father *Semedo* was excused by reason of his sicknesse, But *Fagnone* received them in so cruel a manner, that he lay very ill upon it, and it was above a moneth before his wounds were closed. In conclusion, their house and goods were confiscated; and many books were published against them, which declared them to be unworthy the name of *Letterati*. They themselves were put into very narrow Cages of wood, (such as are used in that Country to transport persons condemned to death, from one place to another) with Iron Chaines about their necks, and Manacles on their Wrists, with their haire hanging down long, and their Gownes accoutred in an odde fashion, as a signe of a strange and Barbarous people. The thirtieth of *Aprill*, they were brought out of Prison to a *Tribunall*, where they were shut up in those straight Frames.

and sealed with the Kings Seale; and order was given to the *Mandarines* of the Guard, to take them out at such times, as were allowed them to eat and sleep in. In this manner were the Fathers carried with an inexpressible noise, which the Ministers made with their rattling of Fetters and Chaines. Before them were carried three *Tablets*, written on with great letters, declaring the Kings Sentence, and forbidding all men to have any commerce or conversation with them.

In this equipage they went out of *Nankim*, and were carried in these Cages for thirty dayes together, untill they came to the first City of the Province of *Canton*, where they were presented to the *Tutan*, who having sharply reprov'd them for preaching a new law in *China*, caused them to be consigned to the *Mandarines*: whence they were carried in that manner throughout all the *Tribunals* with all the people running after them. In conclusion, they were taken out, and after a few dayes were sent away to *Macao* along with the Fathers which came from *Pekim*.

The *Christians* which remained in Prison, after many sufferings and mis-usages, were in conclusion, by the power and sollicitation of their adversarie *Xin*, condemned to receive 70 *Bastinadoes* apiece. The two Lay-Brothers, because they were *Chineffes*, after severall out-rages and *Bastinadoes*, were condemned, one of them to serve at the Tartars wall, the other to tow the Kings barques, as Oxen do in our Country. Nevertheless, there was seen in all the *Christians* a wonderfull constancie and joy to suffer for Christ, who shewed so much cheerfulness outwardly, that the *Gentiles* did much admire at it. There was a Woman, who having heard that our Brother *Sebastian Farnandes* had been Tortured at an examination by the squeezing and pinching of his hands and fingers, desired that favour of the Lord, that she her self might likewise undergo it; and her prayer was granted her in part, for being one day in prayer, she saw in a Vision *Xin* sitting on his Tribunall, who commanded her to renounce the Faith of Christ, which she not consenting to, he caused the same Torture to be given to her. When the Vision was ended, the Marks were to be seen for some time on her hands, and the black and blue stripes on her body; which was a very great comfort and contentment to her.

CHAP. 10,

How things began to be calmed again after the Persecution; and of the Foundation of severall Residencies.

ALL the other persecutions, which happened before this of *Nankim*, were particular, and commonly the fire went not farre. For the cause belonging to the *Magistrates* of that Province, the sentence was alwayes given there, without extending it self to the *Residencies* of other remote Provinces.

Provinces. But in this *Persecution* the Tyrant accounted it too meane an enterprize to discharge his choler on the *Christians* of *Nankim* only. And therefore he would strike at the *Christianitie* of the whole Kingdom, to root it out at one blow. He presented the cause to the King, that his sentence might include all, with the greater rigour and authoritie. But this Tragedie being ended, the *Fathers* being banished from their *Residences*, their Houses confiscated and sold, the Churches ruined, and that of *Nankim* thrown to the ground by the fury of *Xin*, their goods lost; and finally, the *Fathers* of *Nankim* sent away from that Court with so much hubbub and noise, that it seemed to be the day of Judgment; it is hardly to be believed, how much mischief followed upon it, how much good was hindered by it, and how every thing was changed. The *Fathers* lay hid, the *Christians* were in continuall feare, the *Gentiles* encouraged, the Tyrant Victorious, and his followers so free and insolent, that every one was ready to trouble the *Christians*, and to accuse them, especially in the City of *Nankim*.

Neverthelesse, *Quia dominus judicavit melius de malis bene facere quam mala nulla esse permittere*, according to his Divine dispensation he drew much good even from these evils. For although the liberty and facilitie of making new *Christians* was impeded at that time; yet it manifested the constancie and valour of those that were already such; all of them shewing how highly they did esteem the being followers of the *Law of God*, and how much they did desire to keep the *Fathers* in their Kingdom, that they might be still instructed in the Doctrine which they had already received: and so, many of them, which live in other Cities, either sent, or came in person, to receive the *Fathers*, and carry them to their Houses. Which was the reason, that, except in the two Courts, we found good shelter in other places, whereby the *Christians* were comforted in their sufferings, and confirmed in their Faith, and the Churches (I speak not of materiall ones) maintained and upheld, as also many new ones set up, as we shall shew hereafter.

At the Court of *Pekim* there remained two of our Brothers, in the place of Sepulture given us by the King: for, being *Chineffes* they were not comprehended in the Sentence of banishment, wherefore under pretence of Piety and Devotion, whereof the *Chineffes* make great esteem, they remained there to keep it, although with much trouble and many contrasts which they had with the *Eunuchs*: for they, as soon as they saw the *Fathers* out of the Court, thought the House had been without a head, and that the brothers alone would never have had strength enough to resist their batteries: and therefore it is almost incredible, what attempts they made every way to arrive at their design, and how many times they brought the brothers into the Tribunalls, accusing and troubling them, but alwayes to no effect. For the Lord, who had granted that place to the *Fathers*, that they might be buried there after their death, would keep it for them, to serve them as a retreat and hiding place, even in their life time; disposing it so by his providence, that *Doctour Paul* should reside in the Court at that time; and that by his authoritie he should overthrow all the plots of our enemies.

Once

Once especially the *Eunuchs* had put their businesse in such a forme, that it seemed impossible for them not to carry their design; partly because they had (as they said) corrupted some of the Magistrates with bribes; and partly (which was more considerable) because they had the *Chi Fu*, or Governour of the City on their side, to whom they had spoken very effectually concerning the businesse, and he had promised them his favour in it. The worst was, they gave the Brothers such short warning to appeare, that they had hardly time to give *Dofour Paul* notice of it, and he to write a letter to the Governour of the City, giving Order to the Servant which carried it, that he should give it him, in what place soever he met him, although it were in the street: and so he did, finding him almost entring into the *Tribunal*; (for in *Pekin* they are without the Houses where they dwell) where there was gathered together a great company of *Eunuchs*, who did already assure themselves of good successe, by reason of the care and diligence they had used in the businesse. The Governour after he had read the letter, called the cause: and the *Eunuchs*, with greater store of words than reasons began to plead for themselves. The Brother being called, did no more but shew his Patent, wherein was contained how the Officer, and former Governour, by Order from the King, had granted that House, and the Gardens thereunto adjoining, for the Sepulture of Father *Mattheus Riccius* and his companions. The Governour took it and read it, and in stead of the favour he was to do the *Eunuchs*, did strengthen it with one Seale more, putting to it the Seale of his Office, and telling the *Eunuchs*, That which is once well done, ought not to be undone. So the suit was ended for the Fathers advantage, not only this, but also many other times; whilst the neer Kindred of the imprisoned *Eunuch* lived, they never gave over their endeavours to regain it, whereby they got often some small summes of money, which were given them on purpose to avoyd suits and contrasts.

The Brothers, who kept the House, making use of this opportunity, went sometimes one, sometimes another to visit the *Christians* of that City: and after the persecution began to be over, and the fury of the tempest was allayed, one of the *Fathers* was sent thither in disguise, who although he was glad to lie hid there, yet did he much assist the *Christians*, and under the protection of the old ones, converted many new ones also.

The House which we had in *Canton*, the most Southerly Province of *China*, was totally ruined; for, although at the beginning there was another small House taken, where some of the Lay-Brothers should have resided for the reception of the *Fathers* in their passage to the City of *Nankiam*, yet upon better consideration it seemed good to them to take it wholly away, because the place was very subject to tempests and troubles. The *Father* who had his Residence there, as I have already said, went up farther into the Country, as did also the Lay-Brother, with a promise neverthelesse, and obligation upon him, to come and visit the *Christians* of that Country every year.

Father *Rocca*, with other two *Fathers*, who, (as we have said,) departed from *Nankiam*, a City in the Province of *Kiamfi*, retired to the City of *Kiencham*, in the same Province; where they were visited by a *Christian*,
named

Stephen, of a Noble Family, and one of the chiefest of that place, being also the Sonne of a *Mandarine*, who was afterwards himself converted to the *Christian* Religion. The Fathers at their arrivall there, were received with all manner of *Christian* love and charitie, and were lodged in a house neerto the walls of the City, such a one as they cal a *House of Studies*, where they had an appartiment provided for them, consisting of foure chambers, with the Offices belonging to them, and a faire Hall, which served them for a Chappel. At the beginning there came thither only those of the household of their Host, who were all *Christians*. Afterward, their Kindred who were *Gentiles*, and their most Familiar acquaintance; and by occasion of these Visits, there was alwayes some one or other gained to the Faith; and these likewise brought in others; and so by little and little this Christianity encreased so, that when I came thither about two years after, they said *Masse* on Holy dayes, with Musically Instruments, and with the concurrence of a good number of *Christians*. They who played on the Instruments, were the Sonnes of *Christians*; and among them the *Letterati*, and those of the best quality served at the *Masse* in their coates foure at a time, as I saw at my being there. At this day there is a good *Residence*, with a copious and well instructed Christianity, which hath annexed to it two Churches in the Province of *Chincheo*, which bordereth upon it, and are visited every year by the *Father* of this House.

The *Residence* of *Hancheu* doth flourish most of all under the Protection of *Dr. Michael*. For though the *Fathers* went out from thence publickly at noone day, that the world might take notice of their obedience to the Kings proclamation, accompanied by the said *Dr.* and the *Christians* of the best quality; yet *Dr. Michael* having prepared a faire appartiment in his *Palace*, provided with Chambers, Offices, Chappel, Hall, &c. did build also a new range of Chambers, furnishing them all after our fashion, that there might be roome enough for all of us, if there should be occasion; and when he had fitted every thing, he sent for the *Fathers*, who came thither very secretly, although he was not very sollicitous to conceale them: But three years after told *Xin*, who being a native of that City, was now come to live at his owne *Palace*, That he had the *Fathers* with him in his house, and perswaded him to come and visit them, and discourse with them; Telling him, he should finde them other manner of men than he took them for.

This house was in those troublesome times the most secure, commodious, and easie refuge, which the *Fathers* had. Here lived the *Superiour*, hither came all businesse, and upon any strait, the greatest part of the *Fathers*, who sometimes made a considerable number: and although there was care taken, that no *Gentile* should come in amongst them, unlesse he were very well knowne, neverthelesse, there was *Masse* said, and a sermon every Holy day, with a great concurrence of *Christians*, and a good number of new ones converted to the faith.

The greatest tempest fell upon the Church at *Nankim*: for as the *Fathers* were prisoners a long time there, and after they had received their sentence, were sent out in cages, being carried through the whole City with a great noise and shouting of the guard, and an infinite concurrence of people,

people, their case was more notorious and ignominious, and the *Gentiles* were more alienated from the *Christians*, accusing them upon every occasion to the *Magistrate*. Wherefore for diverse years after there was almost every year some particular vexation, and the *Christians* were brought before the *Tribunalls*, and troubled, and many times were *Bastinadoed*, all which they suffered with great constancy and cheerfulnesse, *gaudentes à conspectu Concilij, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumelium pati*. Neither truly is there any doubt, but as the Lord did exercise this Church of *Nankim* with particular tribulations, so he did also endowe it more particularly with the vertue of *Patience*, as was seen upon all occasions.

In this manner were our ancient houses demolished, although the *Christians* belonging to them, were preserved, who divided themselves into companies, making by that means severall *Co-fraternities*: the most ancient and pious among them did visit and comfort the rest: the *Fathers* also at certaine times came to confesse and communicate them, and staid amongst them as long as they could: But as they durst not stay long, at least in some places, they were forced to find out other places of abode, which was an occasion of laying the foundation of new Residencies, which were afterwards brought to perfection, and became well ordered Houses and Churches, as they are to be seen at this present time.

The first *Residence*, which was begun in the time of our troubles and *Banishment*, was in the Province of *Kiamsi*, in the City of *Kiencham*, where of I have formerly spoken.

The second was the Province of *Nankim* in the City of *Kiatim*, where *Dr. Ignatius* dwelt, a *Christian* of great power and authority, who was afterwards *Vice-roy* of the Province of *Xantum*: he, as soone as he had notice of the sentence pronounced against the *Fathers*, immediately dispatched one of his Sonnes to *Father Lazarus Cataneus*, who lived in *Hamcheu*, with a letter, wherein after the usuall complements, he wrote him only these words, *There is a businesse of importance, which I must necessarily treat of with your Reverence before you leave this Kingdome*. When this letter was brought to the *Fathers*, they were putting themselves in a readinesse to depart out of that City, as accordingly they did, with a designe to go to *Xanhai*, which was *Dr. Pauls* Country: but having received this invitation, that they might give satisfaction to both parties, the *Fathers* divided themselves, and *Father Francis Sanbiassi*, went to the City of *Kiatim* to *Dr. Ignatius*, who, by that time the *Father* arrived there, had got ready the lodgings neere his house, which served him for a place of study, and stood within the walls of his *Palace*, being very convenient for his occasions, having severall Chambers and a Chappel to say *Masse* in, and being provided with all necessary furnirure: and although that Chappel was bigge enough for the reception of the *Christians* of his owne household; yet neverthelesse, he did afterwards build in the same place a faire Church, which though it was not very great, yet was of perfect good *Architecture*. The *Fathers* did afterwards draw many people to them by their preaching and discourses; so that when I was there about foure years after, I found a well formed *Christianity*, very devout, and both men, women and children, very diligent in hearing of *Masse* and sermons, as also in confessing themselves, with such

an affection to the *Holy Sacrament of the Altar*, that they seemed even *Christians* brought up in *Europe*. I forbear to mention many examples of much edification, referring my Reader to the yearly letters.

This House also served for an *Academie* to our people that came newly over : for the City being very private, and having but little trade, and the Houses being spacious and convenient, they who were to study the *Chinesse* language and letters, did constantly come thither : so that the number of *Fathers* and Students (who were *Chineses* of *Macao*, whom we bred up and instructed in vertue and the learning of *China*, that they might afterward be helpfull to us in propagating the Gospel) was about eleven or twelve, which considering the time, was a great number.

Father Cataneus went to *Xanbai*, where he laboured in the same manner, confirming the old *Christians*, and adding new ones continually to the Church. In the meane time *Dr. Paul* came from Court to his owne house, and by his presence gave a greater libertie, with lesse danger to preach and reduce that people : So that the Baptismes grew to such a number, that the *Father* was forced to write for assistance, and to call a companion to him, and sometimes they were three, and *Dr. Paul*, to enlarge that Church, did in a manner pull it all downe, and build it a new ; and so it continueth to this day with a very numerous *Christianity* belonging to it.

At the same time began the *Residence* of *Xamsi*, which hath at this day belonging to it, one of the most flourishing *Christianities* of all *China*. It had its beginning by occasion of a *Christian* named *Peter*, who went to be *Mandarine* in that *Province*, and carried with him *Father Julius Alexis*, that he might be there in safetie under his protection, and that he might also prove the disposition of that people, whether they would be apt to entertaine the preaching of the Gospel in a place where the *Fathers* had never yet come ; and although the House was not perfected at that time, yet things were put in such order, that it was brought afterwards to perfection with much facilitie, as we shall shew anon.

In *Macao* they were more particularly sensible of the successe of the *Persecution* and troubles ; by which, foure *Fathers* of the two Courts were brought prisoners to that Colledge. Neverthelesse, by the resentment of those troubles, their desires were more inflamed to enter afresh upon the work, and to assist their brethren, who remained behinde, exposed to all dangers and sufferings, labouring under the heavie burthen of the *Propagation of the Gospel*. All the difficultie was, how to get the foure *Fathers* backe again, by reason they were so well knowne there, and were particularly named in the proclamation for their *Banishment* : it was judged therefore more fit for them to delay their returne for a while, during which time the Lord was pleased to take to himselfe the *Fathers* of *Pekin*, namely, *Father Jacobus Pantoia*, and *Father Sabatinus de Ursis* : who having been the ancientest labourers in that vine-yard, were called first of all to receive their reward. It was more dangerous for the other two *Fathers* of *Nankim* to returne backe againe, by reason their banishment was more publique ; they having been carried before many *Tribunalls*, and through severall *Provinces*, during that *Persecution*. Neverthelesse, *Father Alvarus Semedo*, who had lived there a lesser time, and consequently was lesse

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knowne, returned back about three years after, having changed the name and Sir-name, which he used in that Country; and about two years after that, Father *Vagnone* did the like; who is there living at this day in the Court of *Xansi*; where, although he be growne very old, yet is he as painfull and diligent, as any young man whatsoever.

In this condition stood the state of *Christian* affaires, which still prospered and encreased in every place, by the great industrie and caution which was used; as also by the protection of some *Christians* of quality, as likewise of some *Gentiles* that were our friends; and by this means the ancient Churches were confirmed, and some new ones set up; when the second tempest began in *Nankim*; which although it were not so great as the first, because it came not to the Kings ears, ye was it fuller of trouble and vexation to us.

CHAP. II.

*Of the second persecution of Nankim, and
of the Martyrdome of a Christian,
named Andrew.*

THE affaires of *Christianitie* in *China* seemed to be in a calme and prosperous condition, and we had almost as much libertie, and as much fruit of our endeavours as we could reasonably have expected. Only in the City of *Nankim*, which was much distempered by reason of the former *Persecution*, there were alwaies some troubles more or lesse, according as the occasion happened; but the best was, that they were never so great, that many persons were engaged in them. In the year 1622. in the *Province* of *Xantum*, there happened a rebellion by a certain people of a sect which they call *Palien Kiao*, whereof we have formerly spoken in its proper place. These assaulted and tooke the barques laden with victuals, which passed through that *Province* to *Pekim*; and after that, certain Townes; and last of all, they tooke a City, where they put very many to the sword. This news presently alarmed the neighbouring *Provinces*, and especially the Court; whence the *Mandarines* immediately dispatched orders through the whole Kingdome for the apprehending and chastising all people of this *Sect*. In the more remote *Provinces*, there was no great heed taken to this *Proclamation*; but in the *Province* of *Nankim*, which bordereth upon that of *Xantum*, there were great rewards proposed to him that should discover any of that *Sect*.

It happened about that time, that certain Sergeants did molest and trouble a neighbour of a certain *Christian*, who going out to help him, because he saw him much injured without any pretence of reason for it, drew them all upon himselfe, who following of him into his house with much rage and passion, & finding there a *Crosse* & an Image of our *Saviour*, they tooke them and carried them to the *Mandarine*, accusing that *Christian* to be a follower of the *Law of the Lord of Heaven*; which was all one with that

that of the *Palien Kiao*. The *Mandarine* sent to apprehend him, and giving him the rack, he questioned him, who were the other followers of his *Seet*. He named only the *Paynter*, who had paynted the Image, and was also a Christian. He being apprehended and tormented in the same manner, (whether it were through ignorance, or that it seemed to him, that he did by that means give a greater authority to the law he followed,) impeached many of his companions, naming at least forty, and among them those who were left as heads and overseers of the rest; and in absence of the *Fathers* did assemble the rest in the *Chappels* and *Oratories*, where they used to exhort them to vertue and piety.

Upon this, rather simple confession, than malicious accusation, the *Mandarine* sent presently to apprehend those persons who had been named to him, so that it seemed as if the furies of hell had been turned loose that day into *Nankim*. There was no other noise heard in the streets, but ratling of chaines, the voyces and exclamations of the Sergeants, who asked, Where is the house? Whither is he gone? Where shall I finde him? When will he come? Being so much the more eager in their pursuit of the *Christians*, by how much the more they saw the *Mandarines* bent to ruine them. When they found out any one of them, they presently rushed into the house, & seized upon their *Beads, Crosses, Images, Books, Catechismes*, for commonly all of them used to have them in their houses. Then they seized on their persons, dragging them through the streets with a chaine fastened about their necks, and manacles about their wrists, carrying before them the ensignes of their faith which they had taken, with a great noise, and out-cry of the people, that they were of the *Seet* of *Palien Kiao*. The number of those who were taken was thirty foure, beside the two first, and they were all presently put to the torment of pressing their hands and feet, to make them discover others. But they taking warning by the ignorance of the two first, said only that they were *Christians*, they and their wives and children; that they followed the *Law of the true God*, who alone can punish and reward both in this life and the next; and that their law was not the law of *Palien Kiao*, neither had it any resemblance to it: and more than this they said not any thing.

Among the prisoners there was a certain *Christian* named *John Tao*. This man had been formerly imprisoned (as we have already related) with the *Fathers* in the other persecution by *Xin*, & had been sometimes *Bastinadoed* before the *Tribunals*, & was at last condemned to be the Kings slave for certain years (which is much like putting into the Gallies with us:) but was now returned from his slavery, and began again to edifie the brethren by the example of his holy life, in the same maner as he had formerly done in that City. This man hearing that some *Christians* were apprehended, and that they sought for him, never staid till he was discovered, but went of his owne accord and presented himselfe to the *Mandarine*, and kneeling in the sight of the *Christians* that were tormented, told him, that he was a *Christian*, and that the *Law of Christ* was the true law, and other such like things which the Lord put in his heart. When the *Mandarine* heard him, he told him (with what intention is not knowne) that he did not see in him any garbe or appearance of a preacher of the law, and therefore charged

him to be gone, and never to appear before him again. Whereupon *John* rose up and went his way, leaving an eminent Testimony of the *Divine Law*, and the *Chineſſes* aſtoniſhed at ſo great a courage.

Such another thing was done by the ſame *Mandarine*, although the end and reaſon which moved him to do it, were not known. Of the ſix and thirty which he had apprehended and tormented, he ſet four and twenty of them at liberty; and the others who did uſe to aſſemble the *Chriſtians*, and preach to them, he ſent before the ſix chief Tribunals; where they were all *Baſtinadoed*, ſome at one, and ſome at another; the worſt Tribunal of all being that of an *Eunuch*, who having nothing of Humanity in him but his outward ſhape, not conſidering they had bin already tormented and *Baſtinadoed* by the other *Mandarines*, commanded twenty blows a-piece to be giving to each of them; by which the good *Chriſtians* were ſo weakned, that they were faine to be laid upon boards, and to be carried back upon mens ſhouldiers into Priſon.

But they were not uſed ſo by the *Quecum* (who is equall to one of our Dukes) before whom they were brought: for ſeeing them in ſo miſerable a condition by reaſon of the torments and ſtripes they had received, he did not only not cauſe them to be beaten, but complaining of their ill uſage, ſaid publiquely, That he was well informed concerning the Religion they profeſſed, and that it was a good and true *Law*, and ſo ſent them away with good words; that *Gentile* giving a cleare Testimony to our *Holy Faith*, to which thoſe *Chriſtians* had born witneſſe with their blood.

While theſe things were doing, the chief *Mandarine* of the ſix before whom they were preſented, drew up the Sentence againſt them; which being faithfully tranſlated out of the *Chineſſe* language, runneth thus: *The Law of the Lord of heaven is falſe, it blindeth the underſtanding of men, and cauſeth dangerous aſſemblies. Of late years there was a Memoriall preſented againſt it to the King, who did very ſeverely prohibite it. And now they who follow that Law, are convinced not to have obeyed his commands. Wherefore according to the Lawes of the Kingdom there ought to be an inquisition made againſt them, and they to be rigorouſly puniſhed. But conſidering they are men of little knowledge, or underſtanding, we do order, that the ſtrangers of other Countries be ſent home with a Guard to convoy them; and that they ſhall all have the charges of their journey defrayed out of the Kings exchequer: but for the Natives of this Court, we condemn them to carry a board about their necks for a moneth (which is a kind of puniſhment we have formerly given an account of) and when that time is expired, they ſhall be carried before the Tribunal, where they were examined, and there they ſhall be admoniſhed to obſerve the Kings orders, and not to follow this Law any longer. The Books, Images, and ſuch like things, which were found with the *Chriſtians*, ſhall be kept in the Kings Treasurie. Thus farre the ſentence of their condemnation.*

The *Fathers* had heard nothing of theſe proceedings at *Nankim*, when there arrived at *Hamcheu*, which is diſtant from that Court about ſix daies journey by land, a *Chriſtian* ſent on purpoſe to give them notice of the dangerous eſtate and condition of the *Chriſtians* at *Nankim*. Father *Rocca* ſuperiour of the *Miſſion* chanced to be at that time in *Hamcheu*, who preſently endeavoured to find ſome remedie for it, by ſpeaking with *Doc-*

tour Michael, and writing to *Doctour Paul*, that by their letters they would perswade the *Mandarines* of *Nankim* to shew some favour to the *Christians*; which accordingly they did, with much zeale and efficacie, especially *Doctour Paul*, who observed to them in his writings fourteen principall poynts, wherein our *Holy Law* did differ from the Sect of *Palien Kiao*. The letters had not that effect that was hoped of them, some of the *Mandarines* being rendered very averse to them by the power and perswasion of *Xin*, who actually enjoying at that time the dignity of *Colao*, every one endeavoured to gain his favour by following his inclinations. And that was plainly seen by their answers, which are not wont to be in such termes to *Mandarines* of so considerable Quality as those *Christians* were. The answer to *Doctour Paul* was, that the *Law*, which his *Lordship* said was different from that Sect of *Palien Kiao*, was not so, but the very same, both of them professing not to obey the King nor his Ministers, as was plainly to be seen by the *Fathers*, who being banished out of the Kingdom by the Kings order, yet were so audacious, that they still remained there; and other things of the same straine; which evidently shewed, that they who gave such answers, were changed, as also for whole sake they gave them.

This unpleasing answer was followed by a thing of greater danger; (for in *China*, even in the quietest times, it is necessary to live very retired and reservedly) which was the Intelligence, that *Doctour Paul* had received, how that, not many daies before, two *Mandarines* of the same City of *Nankim* had presented a *Memoriall* to the King against the *Law of Christ*; both against the *Chinesse*s who were followers of it, as also the *Fathers*, that did preach and propagate it, accusing *Doctour Michael* by name for being a *Christian*, and for keeping the *Fathers* in his House; they did also accuse severall others for keeping of them; and although they did not name *Doctour Paul*, yet it might be easily understood, that they meant him for one.

This news did require their most serious deliberation; for when a businesse is brought before the King, it is alwayes of dangerous consequence, and doth ever shave or flea.

Doctour Paul immediately wrote to the *Fathers*, that in what place soever they were, they should without any farther delay resolve to retire themselves, and to break off all commerce with all manner of persons whatsoever, although they thought them never so safe or trusty, giving way to the necessity of the times, as at that present was very convenient for them. *Doctour Michael* was of the contrary opinion; at least he would not suffer those which lived in his own House to hide themselves. *Doctour Ignatius* his Sonne also, who dwelt in the City of *Kiatim*, was of opinion, that the *Fathers* should keep themselves private and concealed; for if any thing should be decreed to their disadvantage, it could not be executed so suddenly, but that there would be time enough for them to make their escape, especially since the *Mandarines* of the City were their friends.

Although this were a very young man, yet his *Father*, who lived then at the Court, was much satisfied with his opinion in that case. Nevertheless, it was judged more expedient, that we should withdraw our selves,

selves, before the storm appeared, and that afterward those, who could not hide themselves, should fly, before they were apprehended by justice. But the difficulty was, where to find another secret place beside that where we were, which was in a very populous City, and among many of our trusty and faithfull friends: and because it was so difficult to lie hid in that place, we did think of searching out some desert; but by reason that *China* is so populous, that was no easie thing to be done. At length it was resolved, that we should all quit the habitations we were in, some going to the Country Houses of the same *Christians*, some to the sepulchres of others, with a caution, that if there did not come a favourable answer from the King, there should be boates provided in a readinesse for to carry them up and down the Rivers, where the not remaining long in any certain place, would be a good way to secure them, till the Lord should direct them to a better.

During this time, *Doctour Paul* kept a man on purpose in the City of *Suchew* (where the *Vice-roy* of the Province hath his Residence; for he may not dwell in the City of *Nankim*, because it is the Kings Court, as well as *Pekim*) that as soon as the Kings answer came, he might presently bring him word of it: and according to the stile of that Country, it was conceived, that it might be delayed yet many dayes. The *Fathers* expected ten weeks to their great discommodation and inconvenience, because those things which might easily have been had in the Towns and Cities, could not be come by but with a great deale of trouble, as they lay thus hid; neither did any answer come in all this time: for which there were severall reasons given, but the best seemed to be, that these *Memorials* against our *Holy Faith* were sent with an Order, that they should first be registred by *Xin*, for whose sake they were presented, who at the same time was put out of his Office. So that when the *Memorials* came, he had now no power nor authority to preferre them; and so they were not presented at all; for if they had been presented, whether the King had answered them or no, we should have been sure to have had notice of it. Thus the storm ended, which seemed to threaten us with a greater danger; and the effect of it was turned upon *Xin*, although upon another occasion: for it is most certain, that at the same time, when the Petitions against the *Law of Christ* were sent from the *Southern* to the *Northern* Court, the King took away his Office of *Colao*, by reason the *Mandarines* of *Pekim* had petitioned against him; and although they had endeavoured his disgrace for 16 months before, yet they could never bring it about till then. So that it seemeth, the Lord did reserve the fall of this *Tyrant*, for that time wherein he might have done the greatest mischief, and would shew us, what trust and confidence we ought to have in him upon the like occasions.

Our *Doctours* being of the opinion, that the *Memorials*, neither were, nor would be presented, the *Fathers* returned all to their *Ancient Residences*; although they were obliged to use more caution, and to make fewer assemblies; and this the rather, because they did not yet receive good news from *Nankim*, where there were new edicts published against the *Christian Religion*: which news, although on the one side it occasioned much grief to the *Fathers*, yet on the other side it gave them much comfort

fort by the relation of the *Martyrdome* of a certain *Christian*, called *Andrew*, concerning whose life and actions very much might be said, and especially of that courage and constancy which he shewed in all the torments they gave him: which is so much the more admirable in a *Chinesse*; because that Nation is by nature very cowardly and timorous: yet we have had certain experience, that even to this day the *Christian Chineses*, in all occasions of *Persecutions* and *Troubles* that have happened to them, have ever continued firme in the *Faith*: (so that by the grace of God they have not been wanting to *Martyrdome*, but *Martyrdome* hath been wanting to them,) as was seen in those of *Nankim*, and was proved in this good *Christian Andrew*.

This *Andrew* was borne in the *Province* of *Kiamsi*, where after he had lived many yeares, he removed from thence into the *Province* of *Nankim*, where having had some information concerning our religion, he came to the *Fathers*; and after he had been well instructed by them in the principall points of our *Faith*, he received *Baptisme* from them, together with the name of *Andrew*. Some few daies after his whole familie was *Baptized* by the hand of *Father Rocca*, who was *Superiour* there at that time. After his *Baptisme*, *Andrew* became a pattern and example to the rest of the *Christians*, by endeavouring to communicate to others the good which he had received, and to draw others to *Christ*, which succeeded very happily, very many being *Baptized* by his perswasions. He had a great devotion to the *B. Virgin*, and was the most zealous man of a whole fraternitie, which before the *Persecution* of *Nankim* was dedicated to her in our Church there: and after that, when the *Fathers* were banished, he built an oratory in his owne house to the honour of that *Holy Mother*; whither he used to assemble the *Christians*, and to exhort them to devotion and observance of our *Holy Law*. At the time the *Fathers* were imprisoned there, and the other *Christians* were divided into five prisons, he without any fear of that danger to which he did expose himselfe, tooke upon him to serve them, to visit, comfort and assist them, especially the *Fathers*, with many almes at his owne expence; not being content to performe these offices of *Charitie* in his owne person only, he imployed in them also a little boy that was his sonne, whom he sent to the *Fathers*, that they might make use of him to send him of errands, and other little occasions. Likewise at our return thither, he lent us his house for our habitation when we went to visit the *Christians* of that place, and for an *Infirmery*, or *Hospitall*, when any were sick, whom he served and tooke care of with great charity and affection. These and other good works did the Lord pay him by crowning him with *Martyrdome*, and making him to suffer death for his sake. The good old man patiently suffered the torments and *Bastinadoes* abovementioned; and when as the last which he received, beside that they were very cruell ones, were also laid on upon the wounds and stripes, but lately inflicted on him before other *Tribunalls*, it is no wonder, that an old man, who though he were strong in courage, yet was but weake in body, should render his life to the violence of those torments; since the youngest of those *Christians*, and those of the most robust complexion did hardly escape with life. Thus he dyed, leaving that Church much edified by his good example, and much afflicted

afflicted for the losse of him. For he was, as it were a *Father* to them all, and in the absence of the *Fathers*, a *Master*. He was buried decently in a particular Sepulchre by himselfe, to the end that one day he may have those honours, which are due to him, performed with greater solemnitie.

CHAP. 12,

How things began to be quiet and settled, and how the Fathers were sent for to Court by order of the Mandarines.

IN the mean time there came better news from *Nankim*, whither the *Fathers* had sent a man on purpose, with letters from themselves, as also from our *Doctors*, to comfort and strengthen the *Christians* there in their afflictions and troubles; although the Lord had so filled their hearts with courage and contentment, that they had little need of any humane consolation. This man returned with a confirmation of the news, which was already spread abroad, assuring them that all things were quiet: the same also was written by the *Christians* in their letters. For the *Mandarines*, seeing that the plot did not take, and that the *Memorials* were not presented at *Pekim*, and on the other side, that *Xin* was turned out of his Office, they presently changed their stile and opinion; they set the *Christians* at liberty, and also moderated the punishment that had been imposed upon them. Only there remained in prison three *Christians* of *Chincheo*, who expected every day to be sent into their owne Province, as it afterwards fell out. From *Pekim* also the *Father*, who lay hid there, wrote, that all the hopes of our enemies of *Nankim* were quite overthrown at that Court; and that the face of things was so changed, since the departure of *Xin*, that our friends did counsell him to treat with the *Christian Mandarines*, and such other of them, as (although they were Gentiles, yet) had a good affection for us, to finde out some way for him to go publicly abroad, and for us to be introduced thither againe.

By this time there had six or seven years passed, since the first *Persecution* of *Nankim*; and the *Tartars* made a cruell warre upon the *Chineffes*, and had already not only defeated severall of their armies, but also gained diverse places from them in the Province of *Leaotum*; neither did they well know which way to put a stop to the advance of their army. Nevertheless, the *Fathers* did endeavour to finde some way to manifest themselves to the Kingdome, and to appeare in publick, according to the tenour of what had been written them from *Pekim*: But because their banishment was decreed by the King, they found no small difficulty in the businesse. Notwithstanding, the *Christians*, and the *Doctors* that were our friends resolved to frame a *Memoriall*; taking the occasion from the warre with the *Tartars*, and the extremities to which the *Chineffes* were reduced, and to present it to the King; setting forth in the first place the misfortunes of the warre, the mortality and damages which they had received; the losse of their

their Townes and Cities, without having been able for the space of so many years, after such infinite expence of treasure and losse of men, either to divert or stop the course of that calamitie. In the second place they did remonstrate the errour, which was committed in banishing the *European Fathers*, who, beside that they were vertuous, learned, and men capable of the management of great affaires, they were also very great *Mathematicians*, who without doubt had particular secrets, and extraordinary inventions, which might be made use of to their extraordinary advantage in that great strait wherein the Kingdom was at present: and that if they were in the Court, as they had formerly been, that they would be able to reduce the affaires of state into a better condition. Last of all they added, that it was probable, that they were not all yet departed, and that it was not possible, that so many men should be able to passe through so great a Kingdom, through so many strait and uncouth waies; That his Majesty should do well to give order for diligent search to be made through the whole Kingdom, to see if any of them were still to be found there, and to send for them to Court, that they might be serviceable to him in this present conjuncture of the warre.

The *Fathers* made great opposition against this particular means which was taken for their re-establishment; by reason they were altogether ignorant in matters of warre and armes, and all things belonging to that profession: and therefore they did not thinke it convenient, that they should be petitioned for under that pretence. To this, as I understand, *Dr. Leo* who was one of the chiefe Actours in this Tragedie, presently made answer, *Fathers*, let not this trouble you, for this pretence of arms shall stand us in no more stead, then the needle doth a Taylour, who when he hath drawne through the thred he soweth with, and the garment is finished, presently taketh the needle away; let your Reverences once get in by the Kings order, and the armes to fight with, shall be turned into pens to write. In conclusion, the *Memoriell* was drawne up very well, they having excellent skill to frame a petition after their manner; it was presented in the *Chancery of Petitions*, and they tooke such paines in solliciting their friends, that they got it passed, and presented to the Kings hands, with such good successe, that immediately he made a favourable reference of it to the *Councell of warre*; who did not only favour the disigne, but added also, that they did verily beleieve, that the *Fathers* by their skill in the *Mathematicks* would be able so to enchant the *Tartars*, that they should not be able to manage their armes against them. They therefore immediately gave order, that they should be sought out with all possible diligence: But there was no need to take much pains to finde them out, for he that was to seeke them, knew well enough where to have them.

Father Rocca, our *Superiour*, who resided at that time in the *Southern parts*, had presently news of the Kings order; & that he was to send two *Fathers* to that Court. It is almost incredible what joy there was both among the *Fathers* & the rest of the *Christians*; they knowing, that this was the most certain way, for the *Fathers* to returne publickly into the Kingdom, & for the propagation of the Gospel, with the same libertie they formerly enjoyed.

Father Nicolas Longobardus and *Father Emanuel Dias* were named for this

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expedition;

expedition; who as soon as they had fitted themselves for their journey, departed for *Pekin*; where they made their entrance publickly. And because some years had now passed, since beards of the *European* fashion had been seen in that City, there was so great a concourse of people to see them, that they could hardly make their way through them. The first thing they did, was to present themselves to the *Tribunall of warre*, (the care of seeing them out having been recommended to the *Mandarines* of that *Tribunall*) who received them with all manner of courtesie and civility, and profered to take the care themselves of their lodging and accommodation, which the *Fathers* would by no means accept, excusing themselves, that they had not yet merit enough to accept of their offer: but gave them very great thanks, and promised to receive their kindnesse, when they should see a fit time for it. But the true reason was, partly that they might not be burthensome to them, and partly that they might remain the freer by having the lesse obligation to be employed in their affaires of warre; under which title they had been brought in thither. As for a House, it seemed good to the *Christians*, that they should returne to that, where they had formerly made their abode for so many years, and where they were yet well knowne and beloved of the neighbourhood: Besides that, by that means the world would more clearly understand, upon how little reason they were banished; and moreover, they should save building of a new Church, the old one having been bought on purpose by a *Christian*: only there was great need of repaying; for the buildings of *China*, consisting principally of wood, are not so strong and lasting as ours: But *Dr. Ignatius*, who resided at that time in the Court, tooke upon him to repaire all at his owne charges, and did accommodate them very excellently, especially the Church; and when every thing was ready, the *Fathers* went thither to dwell; where they do yet inhabit to this very day, meddling only with such things as belong to their profession, without being ever spoken to concerning warre, *Tartars* or *Armes*.

The affaires of the Court being thus happily accomplished, and the *Fathers* dwelling freely and openly in their ancient House, they began to set on foote their former exercises. They did cultivate and perfect the knowledge of the *Christians*; they preached to the *Gentiles*; they received the visits, which the *Mandarines* and their friends did pay them, with the same familiaritie as formerly, and without any other cautions, but such as are at all times necessary in *China*. This securitie and libertie in the Court by publique approbation, was in a little while after communicated to the other Houses, where the rest of the *Fathers* did reside. So that by little and little, preaching and other exercises of religion were so happily encreased and enlarged, that in the year 1628. and 29. whilst we lived peaceably in the places of our abode, a doore was opened to the Gospel, and the way cleared to the conversion of the *Gentiles*, without finding any opposition, or resistance, to the designs which God had encouraged us to undertake; although it was alwaies necessary to make some *Magistrate* our friend in the place of our employment.

In the same measure that our libertie encreased, the Gospel was likewise divulged in severall parts; new Residencies were set up, with Houses and

and Churches belonging to them, and *Fathers* were sent to make their abode at them. Two, beside Oratories, were instituted in the Province of *Fokien*, both of them very numerous in *Christians*. In the Province of *Xansi*, there was one set up, and in that of *Xunsi*, another, as also another in the Province of *Honan*, all which do flourish at this day in a copious *Christianitie*. At my departure thence, there was another beginning, which is now finished, having a Church and some store of *Christians*, and they did resolve to send some *Fathers* to reside there. But because hereafter there will be an account given of them all in particular, I will stay no longer upon this subject.

The *Fathers* returned to their ancient Houses, (which were five in all before the persecution) after they had repaired and put them in some handsome condition. That of *Pekin*, (with the accommodation of the House and Church, as is above-said,) had three *Fathers*, & one Lay-Brother, who laboured very successfully in encreasing the number of *Christians*. That of *Hamchen* had a new House and Church, and more capacious than the former; which was indeed very necessary, by reason of the great number of *Christians*, both Old and new ones, of which there are some made every day. That of *Kiamsi* had likewise a new Church and House situated in the most publique Street of that City. That of *Canton* was let alone, not only because (before) it could not be continued as the rest were; but also out of consideration that it was better to leave a place so subject to stormes and troubles, and in stead thereof to take another, where we might find more profit and security. Neverthelesse, the *Christians* there are very carefully visited every year,

At the House of *Nankim* we had enough to do; for the *Christians* of that Church could not endure, that they having been the first in persecutions and troubles, and the most exercised in them, should be the last in spirituall favours, and not only the last, but even when other Houses were well provided with *Fathers*, their Church only should want them. The *Fathers* also did much desire a Residency there, & did therefore very frequently visit them. But to set up a publique and open House, was very difficult, by reason of the persecutions that had happened there. But at length, all difficulties were overcome; & a Residenciae was instituted there, although it were late first; which, next under God, we owe to *Dr. Paul*, who that he might alwayes do good, did this even after his death, in this manner.

The *Fathers* had no other hope of this businesse, but the opportunity of some *Christian Mandarin* or friend, who should come to governe that City; that under his protection they might be introduced with greater facility and security. It happened about that time, that a Disciple of *Doctour Pauls* was sent thither to be *President of the Councell of Warre*; and as the *Doctour* was very vigilant in this matter, he presently helped the *Fathers* to that which they desired; that *Mandarine* being of great authority, and being his Disciple, he would do whatsoever he should require of him. This overture pleased the *Fathers* very well: and because they would send thither an experienced person, the place being of such great danger and such great importance, they did for some time retard the execution of it, because they were to take a Father away from some other Place, which

so was to remaine unprovided. In the meane while *Doctour Paul* fell sick, who was at that time actually *Colao* in the Court; yet did not his sicknesse hinder him from writing and sending a letter to the *Mandarine* in favour of us. But his sicknesse increasing, by that time the letter arried at *Nankim*, the good *Doctour Paul* was gone to a better life. But the *Mandarine* received the letter, (which the *Father* gave him with some hesitation) not as from a dead friend, but from a living Master: he received also the *Father* with all demonstrations of courtesie and good will. By his favour and order a House was taken; and the other *Mandarines* seeing how he used the *Father*, to please him (for all desire to second the great ones) they did likewise shew him many favours, not only with their authority and frequent visits, but also by giving him money toward the buying of the Houses. In this manner was that Church well provided for, and the *Christians* comforted, who have been since very much encreased.

About that time, which was in the year 1632 the affaires of that Church did proceed in a much different manner, from what they had done formerly; so that it seemed that those stormes had only raised the little barque of that Church to a greater height; not only in the number of the *Baptized*, which without comparison every year encreased, but also the peace and quiet they enjoyed, and the liberty they had to preach: so that there was a generall knowledge of our *Holy beliefe* dispersed over the whole Kingdome; insomuch that there is hardly a place in it, whither, either by books written upon that subject, or by the acquaintance of *Christians*, or by the report of *Gentiles* themselves, it is not arrived; and this not only in the innermost parts of the Kingdome, where for the most part the *Fathers* are employed, but also in the skirts and extremities thereof. I will bring some examples, which will clearly demonstrate it.

There came sometimes to the City of *Macao* (which is inhabited by *Portugheses*, and is situated on the Confines of *China*) some *Christian Mandarines* about state affaires; who have not onely publicly declared themselves to be *Christians*, but have also made it appear that they were well instructed in the principles of our faith; and have carried themselves with so much edification; and sanctity of life in the exercise of all *Christian virtues*, that they have much edified that people, and may be examples to *Christians* of much greater antiquity.

In the year 1631 the *Portughesse* ships setting saile from *Macao* toward *Giappon* (as usually they do every year) about the height of *Fokien* a Province of *China*, one of the ships was cast away; and all the men drowned, except onely 12 persons, who saved themselves in the long boate almost by miracle, by reason it happened in the night, and the wind blew very strong, and the seas ran exceeding high: yet at length with much ado; although they had neither needle nor compasse, they came a shore, and landed in the said Province of *Fokien*. Presently the people flocked about the poor shipwrackt men who had more need of food and clothing than of being examined who they were; but because the *Hollanders* (of whom the *Chinneses* have a very ill conceit) did use about that time to exercise much piracy and robbery upon those coasts, they put them in prison, where by reason they were not only strangers, but were also accounted enemies, they

they endured extraordinary want & misery. Many people went to see them out of curiosity, because they were strangers, who as they are seldome admitted into that Country, are thought a rare spectacle. Among the rest, there were some *Christians* (which is that I would shew) who were led to see them out of the same curiosity that others had : and taking notice that they carried beads, and crosses about them, and that they used to say over their beads, they judged them to be of the same profession as themselves were : therefore they made diligent enquirie about it, and being assured that they were *Christians*, although they were strictly forbid to shew them any kindnesse, yet Charitie, which is alwayes ingenious, found a way for them to help them, and to provide them with what they were able. To cloath them they used this pious shift : they would go into the prison (for as I have formerly said, he that visiteth a prisoner must of necessity go into the prison) having a double suit of cloathes one over the other : and as soon as they were got in, they would very dexterously slip off their under garments, and give them to those poor men, and go out again onely with their own cloathes, without any discovery of so seasonable a charity, for the reliefe of those unfortunate wretches.

Whilst I lived in the Province of *Kiamsi* at *Nancham*, the capital City thereof, where we have a Church and House, there came thither a *Christian* of another City, on purpose to conferre with me concerning his consciennce, and other spirituall matters : and because the place where he lived was far distant from us, and he could not often make that journey, his custome was to make a pretty long stay when he did come, and then, after his generall confession and pennance was ended, to returne home again. One time at his departure I desired him to use his best endeavours to perswade his kindred, friends, neighbours and other persons, to embrace our *Holy Faith*, and that if he found any disposition or inclination in them to it, he should presently give me notice of it. He did so, and about a month after, he sent me an invitation to come thither, for that there was an opportunity of casting my nets : I went thither, and because he had not a House bigge enough to receive the company that would come to treat with me, I did accommodate my self in one of those Houses, which the *Chineses* call *Zutham*, and do belong to a whole Family in common, where at set times of the yeare the whole Family do assemble themselves to treat of the affaires of that Family, and of the behaviour and manner of living of some of that Kindred, and there they reprove, chastise, give orders, &c. these Houses for the most part stand empty, only there is some one or other, who keepeth and taketh care of them. Neere unto that dwelt a *Mandarine*, who having heard of my arrivall, and that I was a stranger, drawn as I beleve by his curiosity, came presently to visit me. But as we do not use in these visits to let slip any opportunity of advancing the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I entred into discourse with him concerning that matter. He asked me thereupon many extravagant questions ; and not being, as it seemed, much pleased with my answers, he took his leave of me with a great deal of civility ; and, when he had done, he went and accused me to the second *Governour* of the City, telling him, that there dwelt a stranger ; that the times were dangerous ; and more-
over,

over, that I taught a new law, which was contrary to theirs, and prejudicial to the State; that therefore it did behoove his Lordship to use all care and diligence to prevent the mischief that might ensue upon it. Lesse than this would have been sufficient to have caused me to be apprehended, if the *Mandarine* had not been a cautious and discreet person. Nevertheless, he sent some of his Officers for me: there came into the House where I was about thirty or forty men, some of them being sent, and others only out of curiosity to see me; as also the *Tisam* of that street, (who is obliged to give account of what ever passeth there) and brought an order for me to appear before the *Governour*. Just in that instant in came the *Christian* who had sent for me, who was a *Litterato*, and well esteemed in that City; and taking me by the hand, would needs go along to give an account of me to the *Governour*, where he found also the *Mandarine* that had accused me.

The *Christian* told the *Mandarine*, that I lived in the *Metropolis* of the *Province*, and that I had a friendship with the *Vice-roy* and other *Mandarines* of Quality (which was very true:) and that for the *Law* which I taught, it was no secret, but that I did preach it openly at the Court; and that my companions did the same every where publicly; as the *Mandarines* of the *Metropolis* knew very well. The *Governour* having heard these words, from a person of that merit, would make no further enquire into the cause, but remitted it to the first *Governour*, whom we found on his *Tribunall*. The *Tisam* began to give him an account of the business, but he being not well instructed in it, could not make him understand it. Then the *Christian* began to speak, and to give an account of what had happened, in the presence of almost an infinite multitude of people; of which number there being two, who, hearing him talk of the *Law of God*, signed themselves with the *Signe* of the *Crosse* in the sight of a young man who stood near them. The young man asked them, If they were *Christians*: They answered, No, but that they had a friend who was a *Christian*, and that he had taught them to make the signe of the *Crosse*, and to rehearse several prayers. The *Governour*, as soon as he heard of *Thien Chû Kiao*, that is, *The Law of the Lord* of heaven; he said: this law hath many followers in my Country, and is a very good *Law*: what would the Father have else? The *Christian* answered: nothing, my Lord, but only to give an account of himself in answer to what he is accused of by *Hioquon* (for that was the name of the *Mandarine* that had complained of me) neere unto whom he dwelleth. Then the *Governour* replied, Tell the *Father* he liveth in no good neighbourhood, and wish him to find a better. The *Christian* answered, since your Lordship would have him change his habitation, be pleased to command he should have a House allowed him during the short time he is to make his abode in this City. The advice pleased him, and presently he gave order, there should be some Chambers provided for me in a certain *Palace*, and in them I lived during the whole time that I spent there: so that by the occasion of the others turning me out of the House, I came to get one that was farre better.

As a *Portuguese Carrack* was on her way from *Macao* toward *Manila*, she strook unfortunately upon the sands of *Pulosifi*, and was cast away, there being hardly forty persons saved in the long boate; who steering as well

well as they could towards the next land, after some daies, arrived at the Island of *Hainan*, which is but a little way distant from the Westerne part of the Province of *Canton*, and from *Macao* two daies saile with a good winde. Assoon as they landed, they were presenly apprehended according to the custome of that Island, with a noise and stir which boded no good to those poor shipwrackt men. They found some *Christians* in that Island, who were very helpfull to them, and among the rest there was a *Mandarine* called *Ignatius*, who had been a long time a *Christian*, as also his whole Family, a very good and devout person, as I had formerly known him to be at *Nankim*. It pleased God for the comfort and solace of those poor *Portugheeses*, that he should govern the Island at that time. Assoon as he had understood what had happened to those prisoners, fearing what might fall out, he commanded the cause to be brought unto his *Tribunall*. When therefore the poor prisoners were brought into his presence, and after that he understood they were *Christians*, he not only commiserated their condition, but presently commanded they should be set at liberty, and kept them for some time in his Palace. It is hard to expresse the *Charity* and *Love*, with which he entertained them, endeavouring to refresh and comfort them after the labours and dangers they had passed, conversing with them so familiarly and so cordially, and giving them such an example in his own person of all *Christian* vertues, that the *Portugheeses* did afterwards very highly commend him, both in *Macao* and many other places, and not only his own carriage and behaviour, but also that of his household; but above all, they did admire the care and diligence with which he gave them notice both of Fasts and Holy-dayes, to the end they might observe them: so that while they stayed there, he served them also in stead of a Parish Priest.

On the day of *S. Agnes*, which was that whereon his wife was *Baptized*, and called by the same name; he made a very great *Feast*: first a Spirituall one in his Chappel, where they all met to do their devotions, and recommend themselvs unto *God*; and after that, he gave them a Sumptuous and Splendid banquet. After he had entertained them a good while, and that they had recovered their health and strength againe, he lent them a Barque and Marriners to carry them to *Macao*. I could bring many other examples, which I omit for brevities sake, seeing these are sufficient to prove what I said before; That the *Christian Religion*, one way or other, is dispersed over the whole Kingdome of *China*.

CHAP. 13,

*The life and death of Doctour Leo:
and the Conclusion of this
History.*

THE *Chinesse Christianity* hath so great an obligation to the singular pietie, and charitable assistance afforded them upon all occasions by
Doctour

Doctour Leo, that I cannot finish this relation without giving a brieve *Essay* of his life and death, which may serve also for a testimony of the great zeale of those new *Christians*; although I shall forbear to mention many things concerning his sanctitie; as also severall graces and gifts conferred upon him by Almighty God, referring the *Reader* to the yearly letters, where they are more particularly set downe.

Dr. Leo was borne in the City of *Hanchen* in the Province of *Chekiam*, and having happily finished the course of his studies, he removed to the Court of *Pekin*, where he obtained the degree of Doctour, and executed the first employment, which was conferred upon him after his degree. There he saw and conversed with Father *Matheus Riccius*, as did also the greatest part of the chiefe Officers and *Letterati*; moved by a curiositie of seeing men of *Europe*. This *Leo*, besides that he was of a quick and vivacious wit, had a most eager and intense desire of knowledge; by which means he did the more engage himselfe to an inward friendship and conversation with the *Father*, being allured thereunto by the solidity and novelty of our *Sciences*; and particularly by the delight he tooke in some maps and other curiosities; so that he could have been willing to have lived alwaies in his company. In the meane while, together with humane *Sciences*, the *Father* did instruct him in the heavenly wisdom of the *Law of God*; and he was growne so skilfull and well versed in it, that he was able to help the *Father* in the correction and augmentation of a *Catechisme*, which he had made some years before, and was then about to re-print it. He did therein much admire the great conformitie of our *Mysteries*, with the principalls of reason, the concordance, order, and admirable consequence of the points of our *Faith*; and although he did not at that time give an entire credence to them, neverthelesse he was much delighted to see every thing therein so well ordered and disposed; being wont often to say, That if these things were not true, they were wisely invented, and very conformable to the light of nature. He continued the same affection toward the *Father* for some years; wherein he much assisted, both with his counsell and authority, the foundation of that House; and indeed he was the first that did encourage the *Father* to the enterprise; and furnished him with money to buy the ground, and to build the Church.

All these good works, accompanied with the *fastings* and *Penance* which he performed, while he was yet a *Gentile*, were as so many dispositions, to fit and prepare him for the reception of that divine light, which the Lord was pleased to communicate unto him. He was then satisfied in the truth of our *Holy faith*, and did much desire to be baptized; which notwithstanding Father *Riccus* would not consent unto, by reason of a certain impediment which he had at that time; but being afterwards sick and in great danger of death, the *Father* was constrained to Baptize him. And immediatly after, the Lord was pleased, by means and vertue of that *Sacrament* and the ocher of *Extreame Unction*, to deliver him from that death, which he expected every hour; as he himselfe confessed during his whole life, and alwaies gave particular thanks to God for it.

Not long after, he returned home to his owne House; where, having bu-
fied himselfe one evening in breaking and burning all the *Idols* he could
finde,

finde, *Dr. Michael* his ancient friend, (though yet a *Gentile* and very zealous in the worship of *Idols*, and observant in their superstition) came in to visit him. He was much astonished at the sight, and could not forbear to reprove him for it: but by the others answer, he received so much satisfaction, that he had an earnest desire to heare and understand better the *Law of Christ*, which he afterwards received; & the same *Dr. Leo* assisted him as *God-father* at his *Baptisme*; for about that time there came to live in *Leo's* House, the *Fathers*, *Lazarus*, *Catanus*, and *Nicolas Trigaultius*, who did often discourse there, with *Dr. Michael*; he carried them to a Country house of his, (whither he went often to dwell,) that he might with more freedom and leisure discourse with them concerning the *Law of God*: he doing this often, was at length converted and *Baptized*; wherein *Dr. Leo* had the greatest share and merit; conferring a most important benefit upon this Church, by the conversion of a person of that *Quality*, who for many years together, in the heate and trouble of the greatest persecutions, did ever receive, protect, and favour us above measure.

From that day forward these two *Doctours*, *Michael* and *Leo* were the heads and pillars of our *Holy faith* in those Kingdoms: for, in the greatest fury of that persecution, wherein the *Fathers* were banished the Kingdom, eight of them concealed themselves in that City; not only maintaining what they had already gained, but also encreasing it so much, that whereas about 8 or 10 years before, there were but three Churches in all *China*, we have at this day many in eight Provinces, as also twelve Houses, the number of the *faithfull* being very much encreased every where.

Dr. Leo made continuall progresse in the *Christian religion*, and shewed in act, upon all occasions, what he had before embraced and resolved in his minde. When he went to take possession of the first office, which was given him after he was a *Christian*, he was advertised by the Ministers and Officers, that, according to the custome, he should go and worship, and take his oath before the *Idols*, which in great number were placed in a certain Hall of that *Palace*, where he was to lodge. The *Doctour* went, and being come to the roome where the *Idols* were, the *Ceremonie* he performed was, to cause them to be all overturned and throwne to the ground, and then to be broken in pieces: so that the Sergeants themselves, who were constrained to execute this Commandement, which seemed to them a very great impiety, said among themselves, *Sure this new Lord of ours is not very well in his wits*. So great was the horror and hatred which he had conceived against the devill. He was in this particular very severe and terrible all the time of his life; neither did he account them men, that were deceived in that point, & had so little sense, as to believe *Idols* to be gods; and those, who had any occasion to heare the *Law of God*, or to read the books which treated of it, and did not judge it to be true, to want braines, and to be voyd of understanding. He perswaded himselfe, that all they who could read, and took a delight in the reading of books, that it was not possible, but that they should have a great passion for the Learning and Sciences of *Europe*; and that by means of them, they must needs arrive at the knowledge of the true God, and receive his *Holy law*. Therefore his greatest care always was to perswade the *Fathers* to apply themselves to the

translating the books of *Europe*; and he himselfe did help them in it all he could, which was not a little.

Hence it was, that ever since he knew the *Fathers*, which was about the space of thirty years, he almost alwaies busied himselfe in this exercise; which he followed with so much study and application, that even in the Country, at recreations, visits and banquets, he never went without a book in his sleeve, or in the chaire, wherein he was carried on mens shoulders; and when he was alone, he did either read or write; although it was more troublesome to him, than it would have been to another of lesse ingenuity and capacity, by reason of his want of sight in one eye, which he had almost lost; and the little sight he had in the other which was left: so that in writing or reading he was faine almost to touch the paper with his eye. And truly he made such progresse in our *Sciences*, that he could have discoursed upon any subject better than many in *Europe*, that esteeme themselves learned men.

He perfectly understood the first six books of *Euclid*; which are now translated into the *Chinesse* tongue; he had learned all the kinds of our *Arithmetick*, with many particular rules and subtleties which are taught in that Art; of which subject he composed seaven *Tomes*; he was very well acquainted with all that belongeth to the *Spheare*, and such like curiosities. But what is most of all, he understood very well, and helped to translate the books of *Aristotle de Celo*; together with the questions, which are handled upon them by the Schoole of *Conimbra*; so that he had perfectly penetrated into that matter: and finally, he learnt a great part of our *Logick*, concerning which he left 20 *Tomes* in the *Chinesse* language to be printed; besides, he discoursed so pertinently of all these and other matters, with so much ease and delight, that it was not so facile for others, who were well versed in them, to follow him. He never made account of those curious commodities, which came from *Europe*, and which were so much esteemed by others; all his delight and content was, to see some new and curious book, that was brought out of *Europe*: Then would he sigh to see himselfe old and alone, not finding in other *Christians* the zeale, which he had of a thing so important, to the conversion of that Kingdom, as was the helping us in the translation of such books. With the *Fathers* he never discoursed of any thing, but either of *God*, or of our *Sciences*. It was a known thing among us, that when he saw us, (which he did many times a week,) the first thing he would ask, was, What book it was we were about translating; and if he knew the subject, how much we had already translated? And I can speak it with truth, that of fifty works which the *Fathers* have translated into the *Chinesse* tongue, both of *Divinitie* & other *Sciences*, among which there are some which do consist of many *Tomes*, there is hardly one which hath not passed through his hands, he either correcting it himselfe, or helping us to do it, or revising and fitting it for a new impression; or else rendring it of more Authority, with the addition of prologues and other compositions of his owne. He had an unspeakable pleasure in those works; neither could he have a greater Present sent him, than one of our books newly printed in the *Chinesse* language.

From hence there grew in him a great and insatiable desire, wherein he

he seemed to consume himselfe; which was to have many *Fathers* come into *China*; and it was so vehement in him, that it made him fall into complaints against our *Superiours*, saying, They did not understand, because they could not see with their eyes the importance of that businesse; & that therefore they did not supply that want so much as was necessary. One day falling into a great heat upon this subject, the *Father* with whom he discoursed, mildly replied, Sir, we thank you for your zeale, and do acknowledge the favour you shew us, in complaining on this manner; but our *Superiours* have many places to succour and supply, and it is not possible for them to do it to the satisfaction of all. To which he replied very gracefully, Your Reverence doth reprove me for daring to murmur against our *Fathers* and *Superiours*; but it is not so; but only I say, That I should be very glad to have the opportunity to speak in person with our Reverend *Father* Generall (in these very tearmes he spake it in the *Chinesse* tongue, and when ever he mentioned the *Superiours* of the Company, he alwaies called them *Our Fathers and Superiours*) because I would very earnestly desire of him, that he would be pleased seasonably to supply our Kingdome of *China* with store of *Fathers*; by reason the letters and language are so difficult to be learnt: for ere long your Reverences will be so old and worne out, that you will not be able to teach those, who are new comers. Thus he spake, and this was his opinion concerning it. And a good Testimony thereof will appeare in a letter which he wrote in answer to one, which *Father Mugnez Mascaregnas* the *Assistent* of *Portugall* had sent him: wherein he offered to send him whatsoever curiositie or raritie he desired out of *Europe*. to which point his answer was, that he neither wished, nor desired any thing, but only that he would earnestly endeavour to send more of the Societie into *China*.

In proportion to the love he had for the *Fathers*, his zeale and care for their studies and health did encrease; as also that they should be well accommodated, and that they should know how to converse with those of the Country, in such Termes, Ceremonies, and Compliments, as were most esteemed among them: admonishing, and instructing us with great confidence upon all occasions, when ever he saw us mistaken in the *Stile* of that Country. He had so tender a kindenesse for us, that many times with his owne hands he would open our gowns before to see whether we were sufficiently provided with cloaths to defend us from the cold. When any of us was sick, he caused the medicines, to be boyled and prepared at his owne House, saying, That either through the ignorance, or unskillfulnesse of our servants they might lose their force, and so the sick person would receive no help by them. At the first sight, after a little discourse, he could very well judge of the talents and parts of every one of us; and had a great facilitie in gaining our affections. He had a great esteeme and affection for us all in generall, but much more for those who were newly come, and could not yet speak the language; of whom he had alwaies a very great care, much compassionating the labour and paines they were to take in the study of that language, and the letters belonging to it; and to encourage them, would much rejoyce at every word, which he heard them bring out, when they began to speak it. He gave them very particu-

lar instructions concerning the manner and method they were to study it by. He gave them the names of the books to which they were most to apply themselves; and many times he sent them to them, written in his owne hand, concerning the poynts and strokes, of which in *China* there is a particular *Science*. It was an incredible consolation, and truely did cause no lesse then our admiration, to heare the two *Doctours*, *Leo* and *Michael* together, when they came both at once, (as they did often,) to our House; for they scarce spoke of any thing else but of the way how to propagate the Gospel, and how to protect, defend and authorize the preachers thereof throughout the whole Kingdom; consulting with themselves to which of their friends they should recommend them; what books they would advise them to write; to which Province it were best to go first; and which *Father* were fittest to be required of the *Superiour* for such a part. In the end, all their consultations concluded in sighs, saying: We are old men, to morrow we shall die; whom shall wee leave in our stead to carry on, that which we have seen begun in our daies? Sometimes transported by their affections, they did imagine themselves to be then at the Court, informing the King himselfe by their *Memoriall* of the sanctity and purity of our *Christian Faith*; and having obtained leave and authority of him to set up public Churches, they did already in their imagination make choice of the ground and scituation, and design the form of the buildings, otherwhile they fancied themselves to be accused for this cause, to be laid in prison, and after that to be beheaded; and all with so much courage and cheerfulness, as did well shew the esteem they made of the honour of *Martyrdom*; and the ardent desires they had to lose their lives for the interest of Gods cause.

Neither did he stop at discourses and desires; for I can justly affirme, That of all the Houses and Churches our Societie hath in *China*, there is not one of them, which *Dr. Leo* hath not helped both to build and to preserve; giving towards some of them, although he was not rich, a considerable summe of money.

But that zealous love of *Leo* was most remarkable, in that occasion of recalling the *Fathers* to the Court and City of *Pekin*, where they formerly resided. He contrived all possible means to effect it, and made use of all opportunities: and by reason that *China* was then infested by the *Tatars*, and the Court of *Pekin* in danger, he tooke advantage by that occasion to remonstrate to the King, that besides our learning and skill, which might be of great use to him, in this conjuncture of time, we had also great power and interest with the inhabitants of *Macao*, from whom we could easily obtaine a considerable succour of men and armes to his assistance; and the better to perswade the King and his counsell to it, he used so much *Rhetorick*, and produced so many, and such apt and proper examples out of their books and ancient Chronicles, wherein he was excellently well versed, that I doubt not, but the Reader would receive much delight, if I should give him a little tast of that excellent memoriall of his, did not that Brevitie, which I have tied my self to in this relation, forbid it. In conclusion, he did, and said so much, that he obtained his desire; wherein he received no lesse satisfaction than we have, and ever shal have obligation to him

him for it. Neverthelesse, he lost the great office he had, only upon this account, through the malice of his enemies; who accused him to the King; though they had nothing to lay to his charge, but the neare friendship he had had with *Father Matthaus Riccius*; and that he did beleieve and professe a certain Law, which that Father taught, and which was different from the Law of that Kingdome.

But it pleased the Lord to recompense him abundantly for what he then lost; restoring him 4 or 5 years after to the same place with much more honour and Fame throughout the whole Kingdom, by means of *Dr. Paul*, who being also a *Christian*, and of so much courage & understanding, as to be able to assist and favour our affairs, brought it about upon occasion of the reformation of the *Kalender*. He accepted of the employment, the better to enable him, together with *Doctour Paul*, to promote the interest of the Gospel; and so he began his journey toward the Court: but, beside the infirmities of his old age, the length of the voyage, and the excessive cold of the winter, did so weaken him, that, not many moneths after his arrivall, he ended his life on the day of *All-Saints*, which was the very day, whereon foure years before the first *Masse* was said in that House, which he built on purpose to bestow upon the *Society*; where at this day is one of the two Residencies, which we have in the City of *Hamchen*.

I will not stand to rehearse the Piety, compuncton, and resentment, with which he did severall times confesse himself during his sicknesse; nor the consolation with which he received the holy *Sacraments* of the *Communion* and *extreame unction*, and with what devotion he hearkned to the discourses and exhortations, which were made to him (at that time by three of the Fathers, who were present) at his death, (a reward which certainly the Lord was pleased to bestow upon that love and affection, with which he had alwayes helped and favoured us, from the first time he knew us,) I forbear, I say, to mention them, by reason any one may imagine them in so learned a man and perfect a *Christian*. I will only take notice briefly of what he said at that time to *Doctour Paul*, whom he rooke by the hand, just as he was about to depart, & after he had given him thanks for the favours he had received of him upon many occasions, and particularly in that last, he said to him with teares in his eyes. *Sir, I dye much comforted to see with my eyes how well our Fathers are re-established, and protected by your zeale. I will not recommend them to you, because I know the place they hold in your heart. My sinnes have made me unworthy to have any share in this work, to which you have done me the favour to call me for your companion. But if after this work is ended you would be pleased to make use of my name to any thing, which might result to the glory of God, and the propagation of his most Holy Law, you would do me a high favour; and so, Sir, I leave upon your Shoulders the Christianitie of China.* With these words, which shewed sufficiently the esteem he had of the Gospel, and of the preachers thereof, *Doctour Leo* ended piously and holily that life; a good part whereof he had spent in the assistance of this new Church. He dyed on the first of November 1630 although his memory will alwayes live, in the breasts of the Labourers of our Society; and we hope, that his example will be preserved in other generous mindes of the *Chinesse Nobilitie*.

To

To this state and condition is the Church of *China* arrived, after the continuall labour and paines of the *Fathers*, during fifty eight years ; and truly so happy and prosperous a successe could never have been expected from such difficult beginnings, and such weak meanes. Neverthelesse, from the contexture of this Narration, it may well be perceived, what paines, trouble, caution, patience and longanimity have alwayes accompanied this enterprize, and also upheld it in the greatest persecutions. The zeale and heate of those persons, who would convert the world perfectly on a sudden, is much to be commended; and we do esteeme, and reverence it in all; neverthelesse, in new *Missions*, and particularly in such, which are not susceptible of this fire, which flameth out so suddenly, but do require to be disposed to it by longer time, we do endeavour to retain them within the limits of prudence, more safe, and the bounds of patience, more profitable, for that which is pretended to, by our Society, whetr ever we meet with any of such a Spirit among us; and if that will not serve, we send them to the pulpets and auditories of *Europe*, where that fire may shine out without any danger of burning. And this is observed by us in order to the *Gentiles*.

As for the new *Christians*, I doubt not at all, but that it is a holy and desirable thing, presently to fashion and accommodate them to the common way of the universall Church, to her lawes, decrees, statutes, &c. Neverthelesse, we must look how farre that is possible; and if possible, whether it be convenient; and whether it would not be more for the destruction then edification of such tender plants. Our Saviour Christ and the Apostles have left us this doctrine so cleer, that there doth not seem any place to be left for error. St. *Ambrose* saith, It is a property of false Apostles to teach every thing to every one without difference of persons; the which difference was alwayes observed by our Saviour in his holy doctrine, *Aliter enim populis, aliter loquebatur discipulis*. St. *Paul* the preacher of the *Gentiles*, and Master of preachers, wrote to the *Corinthians*, *Lac vobis potum dedi*: (it is wel to be seen, (saith St. *Gregory*) that he brought them up and instructed them as Children: they were newly begotten unto the Gospel, (saith St. *Ambrose*) *Ideo Apostolus, vir divinus (& medicus spiritualis unicuique secundum vires illius, doctrinam tradebat.*) And to the *Galatians* he saith; *Scitis, quia per infirmitatem carnis evangelizavi vobis*. Wherefore accommodating himselfe to the weaknesse of the flesh, the Apostle did preach no higher things to them: saith St. *Hierome*, *Ut infirmos Galatas lucrificeret*. Of this opinion also is *Tostatus* cap. 7. quest. 9. upon St. *Mat*.

The same St. *Paul*, when he would lay the foundation of *Christianitie* at *Athens*, began with that Inscription, *Ignoto deo*, or (as St. *Hierom* will have it) *Dijis Asia, Europa & Lybia, dijs ignotis & peregrinis*: And without ever reproving those words, or condemning the superstition, (although it was bad enough) judging it more convenient at the first, he made use of this darknesse to communicate light to them by it. The Apostles in the first councell treated only of the facilitating of the conversion of the *Gentiles*, *Visum est spiritui sancto & nobis nihil ultra imponere vobis oneris, quam hac necessaria: ut abstineatis vos ab immolatis simulachrorum, & suffocato, & sanguine*. So that in these three things, they did include the whole obligation

tion of the *Fus positivum*, to which those new *Christians* were obliged; and (what is more,) these were (all three) *Jewish Ceremonies*; which if they should be observed at this day, would give much scandal. Nevertheless, to facilitate the conversion of the *Gentiles*, and to avoyd giving *Scandal* to the *Jewes*, they were, at that time, judged necessary. The same thing happened about circumcision, the which *S. Paul* not only permitted, but even exercised himselfe on the person of his disciple *Timothy*, condescending to the weaknesse and ignorance of those first *Christians*.

Of this opinion was *Panormitanus* (cap. licet *Gracos, de Baptismo & ejus effect* :) where he saith, *Potest & debet venientes noviter ad fidem tolerare in moribus & ritibus eorum antiquis*. For otherwise, (as *Cusanus* saith) there would rather be a perturbation than an edification. *Oportet infirmitati hominum plerumque condescendere nisi vergat contra eternam salutem.* (which is very manifest, every man being chiefly concerned to take care of his own eternall Salvation, *ne cum alijs predicaverit, ipse reprobus efficiatur*) *nam exactam querere conformitatem in omnibus, est potius pacem turbare.* This opinion likewise is favoured by the *Glosse*, (in capit. *Reus qui, de penitentia & remissione.*) where it is said, That in favour of those who are newly converted to the Faith, *detrahendum est jure*. The Church hath often practised the same, and particularly in the Council of *Florence*; where *Pope Eugenius the Fourth* did very prudently dissemble with the *Greeks*, concerning the point of marriage; for the *Greeks* not consenting to treat any thing concerning Marriage, and the *Pope* having also already determined the point: yet *Synodicé, & Armeniis, in decreto suo, credendum tradens, mirum dictu, Gracos ob communem concordiam recentur initam, fortius stabiliendam, non explicité ad hoc credendum obstrinxit, imò pertinaciam eorum in reliquis, violata pace, ne resiliarent, videns non vidit, vel (ut in Actis Concilij patet), non condemnavit.* If this was done to Persons of that authority, quality and antiquity: what shall we say of poor *Neophytes*, but only that of *St. Gregory*? *Duris mentibus simul omnia abscindere impossibile esse not dubium est: quia is, qui locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus, non saltibus elevatur.* So that in the conversion of the *Gentiles* (according to *St. Gregory*) *Suaviter & prudenter subinsinuare, non violenter abrumpere, Apostolici muneris est.* *St. Peter*, to preserve those Plants he had newly planted; *Inter Gentiles gentiliter, inter judæos judaice viçtitavit.* And *St. Paul, Factus est Judæis tanquam Judæus, ut Judæos lucrifaceret, & ijs qui sub lege erant, quasi sub lege esset, ut eos qui sub lege erant, lucrifaceret, idque prudenter ad bonum animarum* (as *Baronius* declareth in his *Annals* in the year 51.) This is that, which the *Apostles, Saints, Councils, and Fathers* have taught by precept and examples.

And notwithstanding all these Instructions, how difficult is it to take the middle way by accommodating ones selfe to places, times, and persons, and the severall course of things? and how much good is lost, not to say, how much evill done (and even such evill as at this day we see and lament) by following every one his own judgment and fancy whatsoever it be; leaving that more certain, and saving way which was used by the *Saints*?

I will conclude this *Relation* with a *Paragraph* of a Letter, which the *Patriark*

triark of *Ethiopia* Don Alphonso Mendez wrote from Goa to the Cardinalls of the Congregation *de propagandâ fide*; who for his Learning, Authority, and Vertue, and above all, for his experience of *Missions*, wherein he laboured and suffered much, doth very much deserve to be believed. He saith thus:

But at the end of this Letter I do judge it not from our purpose to beminde your Eminencies, that God hath formerly commanded, that a vine-yard should not be sowed with diverse seeds; nor that a garment ought to be woven of Linnen and Woollen, with which the Queen and Spouse is to be cloathed; wherein is implied, That the severall institutions and different manners of living of Religious Orders, ought not to be entruded upon young and tender Churches, such as are but yet in a manner sucklings; but only to be introduced into such Churches, as are come to their full strength, and are fortified by a long continuance of years. For many times, emulation growing among them, and many wanting prudence, and others abounding in an indiscreet zeale, they do many things, which tend rather to ruine than edification &c. The Lord blesse your Eminencies &c. From Goa the eleventh of November 1638,

BELLVM





*The Live by Effigies of Thein mingus & present
Emperour of the Western Tartars, who hath
Lately ouerrun and Possesst him selfe almost
of the whole Empire of China.*

BELLUM TARTARICUM,
OR THE
CONQUEST
OF
The Great and most Renovvned
Empire of
CHINA,

By the Invasi^on of the TARTARS, who
in these last seven years, have wholly
subdued that vast Empire.

Together with a Map of the Provinces, and chief Cities
of the Countries, for the better understanding
of the *STORY*.

Written originally in *LATINE* by *Martin Martinus*, present in the
Countrey at most of the Passages herein related, And now
faithfully Translated into English.



LONDON,

Printed for *John Crook*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Sign of
the Ship in *S. Pauls* Church-yard. 1655.

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To the Reader.



Hereas in the course of this insuing History there occurs frequent mention of the chiefe Provinces and Cities in China, which have either been assaulted and defended, subdued or destroyed, by the severall Armies, as well from North to South, as from East to West; least the pleasure and delight of this History, should be any way diminished by the frequent re-encounter of harsh and barbarous names of Countries, and Towns unknown to the European Reader; I thought it good to prefix a

little Geographical table of the Countries, and chiefe Cities, which might serve as a guide to conduct the eye of the understanding, in the pursuit of the mentioned victories. I confesse it is not so exact as the rigour of Geography exacts, but yet it is such an one, as was drawn by the hands of their learned Phylosophers, and may well give a sufficient notion of all the places mentioned.

As for more exquisit, and rare Maps both universal and particular, as well of the Countries, as of the Cities, and of all the rarities they contain, together with the exact knowledge of their Longitudes and Latitudes, and of all that does belong either to Astronomy or Geography in relation to them; with what may be expected from Natural or Humane History, I reserve all these to my Atlas of China which I am composing; taken from their own ancient records ever since the time of Noah; all which I have with much pains and industry gathered up together, and transported with me to Europe. I will not therefore for the present deflower that work of its greatest beauty, by an unseasonable exposition of it to the Readers view; but expect till it grow to that perfection, as I hope will satisfie the appetite of this our curious Age.





BELLUM TARTARICUM.

OR,

*The History of the Warres of the Tartars
in China, &c.*



He most ancient Nation of *Tartars* in *Asia*, the Parent of many Nations, hath been an Enemy to the Empire of *China* above four thousand years: during which time, they have had many sharp Wars with those of *China*, in which they, though sometimes worsted, yet for the most part, have remained the conquerors.

*The Tartars
were ancient
Enemies to
China.*

I call that Nation, *Tartars*, which inhabiteth the Northern parts, behind that famous Wall which stretching out above 300. *German* Leagues from East to West, hath ever served for a Rampart to hinder their irruptions into the said Empire.

*Who are the
Tartars.*

This Country the *Chineses* having a defect of the letter R. anciently called *Tata*: comprehending under this name, not only the occidentall, but the Oriental *Tartars*, hitherto much unknown to us in *Europe*, containing the Provinces, *Samahania*, *Tanyu*, *Niuche*, *Niulhan*, and the like, from the lesser *Tartary*, and Kingdom of *Casgor*, to the Oriental Sea above *Japony*, where they are separated by the Streight of *Anian*, from *Quevira* in *America*, if yet it be a Streight and not a Continent.

But it is not my intention to write all the Warrs which have passed betwixt them; but only of such as have happened in our memory, and in my presence; All the rest shall appear at large in my Abridgement of the History of *China*. And that we may proceed with more Order, it will be necessary to reflect, how and from whence those Troubles had their beginning.

It is therefore first to be known, that the ancient Western *Tartars*, after they had subdued almost all *Asia* to their power, waged war against *China*, (of which *Paulus Venetus*, and *Ayton* make mention under the names of *Cataye* and *Maningin*) and this before the times of great *Tamberlain*, who never subdued *China*, as some have falsely writ; for he flourished about the year MCCCCVI; in which time *Taichangus*, Emperour of *China*, and the second of the *Taimingian* Family (the *Tartars* being before beaten out of

*The Tartars
conquered
China heretofore.
Tamberlain
never tooke
China.*

of his Kingdom) governed peaceably all the Provinces included within the compass of that Vast Wall which before I mentioned.

The Tartars
Emperours of
China.

But the War which *Paulus Venetus* toucheth, betwixt the *Chineffes* and *Tartars* began in the year MCCVI. as their History and Chronology testify, which lasting 77. years, at last the *Tartars* in the year MCCLXXVIII. having totally conquered all that potent Empire, extinguished the Imperial Family of the *Sungas*, and erected a new Regal Family, which they called *Fuena*, of which *Tartarian* Race nine Emperors by descent, governed in the Kingdom of *China* for the space of LXX. years in Peace and Quietness; and about the end of that War, came *Paulus Venetus* into *China* with the *Tartars*, as appeareth by his Writings.

In this tract of time, the *Tartars* forgetting their ancient Vigour of Mind and warlike Spirits, which the pleasures and delices of that Country had quailed and tamed, and being also weakned by so long a Peace, became of a softer temper, and received a deep Tincture of the Nature and Disposition of the Natives of *China*.

Whereupon a contemptible person (who was servant to one of those deputed to offer Sacrifice to their Idols) called *Chu*, presumed to rebell against them.

This man commiserating the condition of his enslaved Country, and affected with the ambition of Reigning, first acted the part of a Thief, or High-way man; and being of a Generous Nature, bold, and as quick of hand, as in wit; wanted neither Courage, nor Art, nor Companions, nor Fortune, to gather such a multitude as in short time made up the vast body of an Army; whereupon deposing the person of a Thief, he became a General; and with a bold attempt presumed to set upon the *Tartars*, and having fought many battailes with them, obtained many singular Victories; so as in the year 1368. he finally drove them out of the Kingdom of *China*, receiving for so memorable an action, the whole Empire of *China* as a worthy reward of his Heroical Actions.

It was he first erected the Imperial Family of the *Taminges*, and being he was the first Emperour of that Race, stiled himself by the name of *Hunguus*; which signifies as much as, *The famous Warriour*.

After such an illustrious Action, it was no wonder if all the Provinces submitted to him, both as to one that was a Native of their Country; and also because they looked on him as a man who had redeemed them from Thraldome: for it is the Nature of the people of *China* to love and esteem their own, as much as they hate and vilifie Strangers.

Wherefore he first placed his Court at *Nanking* neer to the bank of that great River of *Kiang*, which the *Chineffes*, in respect of the huge Mountains of water which it discharges into the Ocean, call the *Son of the Sea*: And having speedily ordered, and established that Empire, fearing no Insurrections from these new redeemed Creatures, he was not contented to have chased the *Tartars* out of *China*, but he made an irruption into *Tartary* it selfe, and so followed the point of his Victory, as that he routed them several times, wasted all their Territories, and finally brought the Oriental *Tartars* to such streights, as he forced them to lay down their Arms, to pay Tribute, and even begge an Ignominious Peace. This Storm of War
fell

fell chiefly on the *Tartars* of the Province of *Niuiche*, whither the *Tartars* of *China* being expelled, were retired.

Afterward those *Tartars* every yeare, either as Subjects or Friends, came into *China* by the Province of *Leaotung* to traffick with the Inhabitants; For, being brought to poverty and misery, they thought no more of making warre against *China*. The Merchandise they brought were severall, as, the root call'd *Ginseng*, so much esteemed amongst the *Chineses*; and all sorts of precious skins, as those of *Castor*, *Martais* and *Zibellens*; and also Horse-hair, of which the *Chineses* make their Nets, and the men use it in tying up their hair, as the handsomest dresse they can appear in. But those *Tartars* multiplyed so fast, as they grew quickly into seven Governments which they call *Hordes*; and these fighting one against another, at length about the year of Christ MDL. were united into one Kingdome, called the Kingdome of *Niuiche*.

Thus stood *China* in relation to the Eastern *Tartars*; but to the Western *Tartars* they payed Tribute, masked under the Title of Presents, that they might desist from War.

For the *Chineses* esteem it very unhandsome to make war against any, if by any other means their Country can be conserved in peace and quietness, being taught this by their Philosophers.

But in the meane time, being over jealous of the Enemies to their ancient riches, they never left that great Wall, which extends from East to West, without a million of Souldiers to guard it.

Therefore this Kingdome of *China* being thus established in the *Taimingian* Family, enjoyed a constant peace and quietnesse for CCL. yeares; and whilst the seven *Tartarian* Lords or Governours made civil wars, that renowned Emperour of *China*, known by the name of *Vanley* being the thirteenth Emperour of *Taiminges* Family, governed happily the Kingdome of *China* from the year 1573. to the year 1620. with as much Prudence as Justice and Equity.

But in this time the *Tartars* of *Niuiche* had so multiplied and spread themselves, after incorporated into a Kingdome, that they became daily more formidable to *China*: And therefore the Governours of the bordering Provinces, consulted privately amongst themselves how they might curb and restraine these people within their limits: For their Governours have so much Power and Authority, that although they live as Slaves to their Prince, yet when there is question of a Common and publick good, they govern absolutely and uncontrollably; unless by some higher powers their orders be restrained.

First therefore the Prefects or Governours, did abuse the Merchant *Tartars* of *Niuiche* when they came into *Leaotung*, which is a Province confines next to them.

Then again when the King of *Niuiche* would have married his Daughter to another King of the *Tartars*, they hindred this marriage by representing some pretended reasons of State.

And finally, when the King of *Niuiche* suspected nothing from them he conceived his friends, they took him by deceit, and killed him perfidiously.

A great Garrison upon the Wall against the *Tartars*.

A long Peace in *China*.

The *Tartars* think of invading *China*.

The first cause of the *Tartarian* war.

The second cause.

The third cause.

The first irrup-
tion of the
Tartars into
China.

The Tartars
Protestation a-
gainst China.

The Barba-
rous and super-
stitious Vow
of the Tartari-
an King.

The chiefe Ci-
ty of *Leaoyang*
besieged and
taken.

A Stratagem
against mus-
quets.

Wherefore to revenge these injuries, the Kings Son gathered a strong Army, and taking his time, found meanes to get over the great Wall I mentioned; and the great River being frozen, he presently set upon the great City *Kaiyven*, (or as others call it) *Taxun*, which lies upon the Confines of *Tartary*, which he took in the year MDCXVI.

From this City he writ a Letter in *Tartarian* Characters to the Emperour of *China*, which though writ in Barbarian Characters, yet contained nothing Barbarous. By this Letter, which he sent by one of their *Indian* Priests (whom they call *Lama*) in a very humble and submissive manner he declared to him, that he had invaded his Country to revenge the injuries he had received from the Governours of the neighbouring Provinces. But yet that he was ready to restore the City he had taken, and depose his Armes, if his complaints might be heard, and satisfaction given him. The Emperour of *China*, called *Vanley*, having received this Letter, though otherwise of an eminent wildome, and of as great experience, yet being now broken with Age, in this businesse seems to have proceeded with lesse Prudence than that which accompanied the former Actions of his life; For, thinking it not to be a business of that moment as that it deserved to be treated before him in his own Court, he remitted it to the chief Governours and Commanders. And these men puffed up with their usuall pride, thought it not fit so much as to give an answer to the *Barbarian* King, but resented it very highly that he durst be so bold as to complain to the Emperor of any injury received.

The *Tartarian* King, seeing they vouchsafed no answer to his just demands, turning his anger into rage, vowed to celebrate his Fathers Funerals with the lives of two hundred Thousand of the Inhabitants of *China*. For it is the custome of the *Tartars* when any man of quality dyeth, to cast into that fire which consumes the dead Corps, as many Servants, Women, and Horses, with bows and Arrows, as may be fit to attend and serve them in the next life: Though now since they conquered *China*, they have left off this Barbarous custome, being reprehended and corrected for it by the *Chineses* themselves. After this superstitious Vow, advancing his revenging Armes, he besieged *Leaotung* (which was the chief City of the Province of *Leaoyang*) with 50000. men. But the City was defended by exceeding many men, who generally were all armed with Musquets. The *Tartars* had nothing but their Scymetars, with Bows and Arrows, which they discharge with strange Dexterity and Art. But because they chiefly feared the musquet bullets, they resolved by a Stratagem to make that unknown Instrument lesse hurtfull to them than their enemies did imagin. For the *Tartarian* King commanded such as made the first on-set, to carry a thick hard board for their Shield, which was as good to them as a wooden Wall; these men were seconded by other Companies who carried Ladders to climb up the Walls; and the Horse came up in the Rear. In this manner he set upon the City in foure quarters, and received the discharge of their Musquets against his wooden wall; Then in a moment the scaling-ladders being applied, before they could charge again, they were upon the Walls and entred the City; for such is the quicknesse and nimblenesse of the *Tartars* (in which they excell all Nations,

Nations, and in which also they place their chief art) that in a trice, they either prevail in their designs, or retire: and the little skill the *Chineſſes* had in the uſe of Muſquets, was no ſmall hinderance to the warre. For the *Tartars* quickneſſe and nimbleneſſe not giving them time to charge again, being aſtoniſhed with the ſudden inundation of armed men, they preſently fled which way ſoever they could; but being purſued by the ſwift *Tartarian* Horſe, moſt of them periſhed in the taking of this great City. This City being taken, the *Tartar* like a Torrent over-run many others of leſſe note, but amongſt others, he took that Noble City *Evamgning*, and overrunning moſt ſpeedily the whole Country of *Leaotung*, he entred the Province of *Pekin*; and comming within ſeven Leagues of the very Imperiall City, He durſt not advance, fearing the Enemy might compaſſe or ſurround him, becauſe he heard that a world of men came in to help their diſtreſſed Prince. But the *Tartar* ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the hearts of all the Countries he had paſſed, as both Souldier and Citizen quitting their Houſes left the empty walls to the *Tartarians* poſſeſſion; knowing the *Tartar* to have that cuſtom and praſtiſe, to deſtroy and put all to fire and ſword that did reſiſt, and only pillage the Cities that ſubmitted, leaving the Citizens alive, and treating them courteouſly. By which meanes having collected a world of riches, he returned to *Leaotung* victorious. And becauſe his South-ſayers had perſwaded him that the ſtanding of the old Walls were unfortunate, he beat them down, and compaſſed it about with new, fortifying them with new Munitions, and there proclaimed himſelf Emperour of *China*: For although as yet he had taken nothing of *China*, but only the ſkirts of the Eaſtern Country of the Province of *Leaotung*, yet in his hopes & aſpiring thoughts he had devoured the whole Kingdom: wherefore he was called in the *China* language *Theienmingus*, in the third year of his Reign, which was in that of one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen.

Many other
Cities taken?

How the *Tar-*
tars uſed their
conquered
Towns.

The *Tartar*
calls himſelf
Emperour of
China, An.
1618.

In this year, ſome in authority about the Emperour *Vanley*, demanded the baniſhment of the Priests, who did then preach the Chriſtian Religion to that Nation; But the Emperour (who in his heart loved Chriſtanity, and thoſe particularly that firſt planted that Religion amongſt them) gave no care for a long while to their demands; But at length overcome by the importunity of a chief Commander, who had ever been a ſore Enemy to Chriſtian Religion, and was called *Xinchio*, it was ordained and proclaimed that all thoſe *Fathers* that did propagate Chriſtan Religion ſhould be baniſhed the Kingdome. Upon which ſome of them were ſecretly concealed in ſeverall Provinces by ſome Chriſtian Governours, others being taken were carried in great Cages to *Macao*, wherein being ſhut up day and night, they ſuffered extreamly; whiſt others alſo being whipt out of the Country, rejoyced to undergoe ſomething for his ſake whoſe name they bore; but that which added more affliction to all theſe miſeries, was the Emperour *Vanley's* Prohibition to all his to profeſſe Chriſtian Religion. But, upon this occaſion, the Chriſtians of *China* (who from the horrid wilderneſſe of Infidelity, had been brought to the pleaſant Paſtures of Chriſtanity) gave illuſtrious examples of their Faith and Conſtancy; but the longer Narration of this glorious perſecution is referred

God puniſhed
China for their
perſecution of
Chriſtians.

ved for another place. I only touch it here, to admire the Divine Providence of God, who raised so sharp War against *China*, when they neglected Christian Peace; and permitted, at the same time, these *Tartars* to take so deep a root in this Empire of *China*, as afterward grew to that height, as to extirpate the Royal Family of the *Taminges*, together with the Kingdom, at the very same time they went about utterly to destroy all Christianity. But, (as ordinarily it doth) by this very persecution, Christian Religion grew to that height and greatnesse, that the Church glories to behold it; whilst, (unlesse God vouchsafe to lend a potent helping hand,) the vast Kingdom of *China* is utterly overthrown.

In the mean time, the *Chineses* were very solicitous to expell this Enemy from the bowells of their Country; and first, they selected very chief and eminent men for Commanders and Governours; then they gathered an Army of six hundred thousand choise Souldiers. The King of *Corea* also sent to the Emperour of *China*, twelve thousand; with this potent Army therefore they went out in the beginning of *March* MDCXIX. to give Battail to the Enemy. The *Tartars* resolved to meet them with an undaunted courage; and for a good while the event and victory was very doubtfull; but in the end the Army of *China* was wholly routed, & their chief Commanders, with fifty thousand men, were all slain: The *Tartars* according to their custome, prosecute the victory with all quicknesse and diligence; for the same day they took and sacked two Cities which they burned. After this, they over-run that whole Country, and came to the very Walls of *Pekin*, the Emperours Court; but durst not venture to besiege it, because they knew (besides the infinite number of Canons it contained) there was lodged fourscore thousand Souldiers in it.

But the *Chineses* confess that there was such a fear and consternation in the City, that the King thought to have left that City and gone into the Southern parts of the Kingdom: which he had effectually performed, had not some Commanders suggested, that his flight would give courage to the Victorious, and breed trouble and confusion in the whole Empire, being that to fly is nothing else but to yeeld up the land to the Enemy. Nay more, they say, the disorders were such in the City, that if the *Tartar* had come on, he infallibly had made himself Master of it. But the Enemy was more greedy of Prey; and therefore they dispersed themselves abroad, spoiling and burning all Towns and Cities, and killing and destroying an immense company of *Chineses* in a most cruell manner; and so leaving all these places dismantled and without Garisons, laden with infinite Riches, they returned victorious to *Leaotung*, where they had their first footing.

After these things had passed, that renowned Emperour of *China* call'd *Vanley* died, and left his Son *Taichangus* to succeed him, who begun to gather a new Army against the *Tartars*; but after four moneths reign he also died.

To him succeeded *Theinkins*, who as soon as he assumed the Crown, sent an Embassadour, with many magnificent Presents, and worthy of the *China* Monarchy to the King of *Corea*; The end of this Embassage was to thank him for the Auxiliary forces sent to his Grandfather, as also to comfort him for the losse he had received in the late service of *China*, & finally

to

The *Tartars*
return with
great Riches.

The Emperour
Vanley dyes,
Taichangus
succeeds and
dyes.
Theinkins is
chosen.

to sollicite and presse for further succours ; For it seems those of *Corea*, as they are nearer to *Japony*, so they participate more of that warlike Spirit and Fortitude, than those of *China* do.

Those of *Corea* more valiant than the *Chineses*.
New preparations against the *Tartars*.

Besides, that he might more effectually divert the imminent danger of his Kingdoms ruin, he leaved new Forces throughout all the Kingdom ; which he sent into the Province of *Leaotung*, to hinder the irruption of the *Tartars* any further into the Country ; And for their better supply with necessary Provision, he maintained a great Navie in the Haven of *Thiencin* to carry Corn and other necessities for their maintenance. This Port of *Thiencin* is a Station to which an incredible number of ships resort, both by Sea and Rivers, from all parts of *China*. So as by this means, by a very short and compendious way, they were easily provided with all necessities. For all the whole Country of *Leaotung* is almost invironed with the Sea, and the furthest part is but two daies distant by water from this Port of *Thiencin* ; but by land far more time is necessary.

The Port of *Thiencin* very commodious.

Amongst other Commanders which came with succours to their Prince, there was one *Heroick Lady*, whom we may well call the *Amazon* or *Pen-thefilean* of *China*. She brought along with her three thousand, from the remote Province of *Suchuen*, carrying all, not only Masculine minds, but mens habits also, and assuming Titles more becoming men than women. This noble and generous Lady gave many rare proofs of her courage and valour, not only against these *Tartars*, but also against the Rebels which afterwards ris against their Lord and Emperour. But now she came in this War to supply her Sons place, whom she left at home in his own Kingdom, as being yet a Child, and not able to perform that Homage and Duty to which he was obliged. For in the mountains of the Country of *Suchuen* there is a King, not subject to him of *China*, but an absolute Prince ; yet so as he receives the Honour and Title of a King from the Emperour of *China*, after which Investiture, his Subjects only obey him and pay Tribute ; But because they surpasse all others in Valour and Courage, therefore they are used by the Kings of *China* in warlick Affairs.

The valiant *Amazon* of *China*.

By occasion of this war the two noble Christian Doctours, *Paul* and *Michael*, found means to perswade the Emperour to demand of the *Portugese* of *Macao*, some greater Pieces, and also some Gunnes and Gunners, hoping by this means also to restore the banished Fathers of Christianity, as also the Religion it self. And their Proposition took effect ; for both the one and the other were sent for ; and the Fathers who hitherto secretly negotiated the businesse of Religion were publickly admitted again, and many new Souldiers of *Portugal* came to help the Army.

The first invention of the Christians to advance Christianity.

And God did most abundantly recompence to the Emperour this favour done to Christianity: For, before the *Portugese* arrived, his Army had cast the *Tartars* out of *Leaotung*, by means of the Inhabitants of that Country, who being much exasperated by the *Tartarians* cruelty, opened their City Gates as soon as the King of *China's* Army appeared, and rising against their Garison, gave entrance to the Army. Insomuch as they recovered the Metropolitan Town of *Leaotung* : For the King of *Tartary* being diverted by other Wars at home could not come soon enough to relieve it : So as by this means the affairs of *China* began to recover Life, and

The *Tartars* are cast out.

and Strength, and the *Tartars* seemed wholly restrained.

The *Tartars*
make war
again.
They besiege
Leaoyang, and
take it.

Constancy
rewarded by
the Enemy.

The *Tartars*
Habits and
Manners.

But though Fortune seemed now to shew a smiling face for *China*, yet, as her custome is, she stood not long constant and stable: For the *Tartarian* King having dispatched his affairs in *Tartary*, sent presently sixty thousand Horse to besiege *Leaoyang* again; promising that himself in person would follow with greater Forces. And this Army took that strong City in the space of forty hours; both parties fighting with such vigour and fierceness, that thirty thousand of the Garison were killed, and the *Tartars* lost about twenty thousand of theirs. Nay the *Chineffes* affirm, that they had never woon the City, had not the Governor been corrupted by great promises of reward, to open them one of the Gates of the Town. But be it as it will, the *Tartars* woon the Town; The Vice Roy hanged himself for grief; The Kings Visitor was taken by the enemy, but could never be brought to submit himself, or to bestow the Title of a King upon the *Barbarian*; for which, in admiration and reward of his Constancy and Fidelity, he obtained life and freedom; but, knowing that according to the custom of *China*, he was guilty of death, only because he had fought unfortunately, more cruel to himself than the barbarous Enemy, he hanged himself.

The *Tartars* having taken the City, proclaimed by Edi&th, that they should kill none, if they would cut their hair, and use the *Tartarians* Habit. For the *Tartars* (that I may say something of their Manners, as my subject gives me occasion) do shave both the Head and Beard, reserving only the Mustachoes, which they extend to a great length, and in the hinder part of their heads they leave a Tuff, which being curiously woven and plated, they let hang down carelessly below their shoulders; they have a round and low Cap, which is alwaies garnished round with some pretious skin three fingers broad, of *Castor* or *Zibellin*, & serveth to defend their Temples, Ears, and Foreheads from colds & other Tempests. That which appears above the skin being covered over either with curious red filke, or else with black and purple horse-hair, which they die and dresse most curiously, so as their appurtenances being decently joyned together, makes the cap both commodious and handfom. Their Garments are long Robes falling down to the very foot, but their sleeves are not so wide and large as the *Chineses* use, but rather such as are used in *Polony*, & *Hungary*, only with this difference, that they fashion the extremity of the Sleeve, ever like a Horse his Hoof. At their Girdle there hangs on either side two Handkerchiefes to wipe their face and hands; besides, there hangs a Knife for all necessary uses, with two Purfes, in which they carry *Tobacco*, or such like Commodities. On their left side they hang their Scymiters, but so as the point goes before, and the handle behind, and therefore when they fight they draw it out with the right hand behind them without holding the Scabbard with the other. They seldome weare Shoes; and use no spurrs to their Boots, which they make either of Silk, or of Horse-skin very neatly drest; but they often use fair Pattins, which they make three Fingers high. In riding they use Stirrups, their Trappings are both lower and broader than ours, their faces are comely, and commonly broad as those of *China* also have, their colour is white, but their Nose is not so flat, nor their eyes so little, as the

Chineses

Chineses are; They speak little, and ride pensively. In the rest of their manners they resemble our *Tartars* of *Europe*, though they be nothing so barbarous. They rejoyce to see Strangers: They no way like the grimness and sourness of the *Chinesse* gravity, and therefore in their first abords they appear more humane.

Having thus briefly described their manners, we resume our former discourse, and return to the victorious *Tartars* in the City they had taken; In which, finding many rich and wealthy Merchants of other Provinces, they published a Licence that they might depart with their Goods, and withall commanded them speedily to void the City, who presently obeying the order, carried away all their goods and riches, little suspecting the perfidious treachery of the *Tartars*; For they had not gone three miles from the Town, but being set upon by the *Tartars*, they were plundered of their goods, and lost all their lives; which being done, they returned into the fearfull City, laden with Riches, the Citizens trembling, lest they might happily experience the like perfidiousnesse.

The *Tartars*
perfidiousness.

But the *Tartar* considering at how dear a rate he had bought the mastering of that City, and fearing also to find the like provision and preparation in other Cities, they durst not make any further attempt, for they knew well that the Emperour had not only fortified all the ancient places, but erected also new munitions, in the straights of many hard and rude passages.

And amongst all other strong Holds, that of *Xanghai*, scituated in the Island of *Cu*, was most eminent; containing a vast number of men in the Garrison, to resist the further progresse of the *Tartarian* Forces. But that which most of all repressed the *Tartars*, was the great valour of the incomparable Commander *Maovenlungus*; who having with his great Fleet taken an Island neer *Corea* in the mouth of the River *Yalo*, vexed much their Army in the Rear, and was victorious in severall Skirmishes against them; so that the *Tartars* bent all their care and thoughts against this their Enemy. This renowned person was born in the Province of *Evangtung*, where being neer the *Portugese* of *Macao*, he had much perfected himself in the Art of war, and he brought with him many great pieces of Artillerie, which he had recovered from the Shipwrack of a *Holland* Ship, upon the coasts of that Territorie. And because the Emperour of *China* had declared the City of *Ninguyven* to be the chief (in place of *Leaojang*) (where also he had placed a new *Vice-roy*, and his Royall Visitor) therefore *Maovenlungus* placed the best part of his Artillerie upon the Walls of this City.

The valiantest
Commander
of *China*.

The *Tartars* therefore acted nothing till the year 1625. and because they resolved to besiege the new Metropolitan City of *Ninguyven*, they first purposed to trie *Maovenlungus* his fidelity, offering him halfe of the Empire of *China*, if he would help them to gain it; But that noble Soul of his, proved as faithfull, as valiant, by rejecting those demands with indignation; and came presently with his Forces to succour the City *Ninguyven* which they besieged; by which means, the *Tartars* having lost ten thousand men, were put to flight; and amongst the rest, the King of *Tartary's* own Sonne was killed. Wherefore being furious with anger, they passed

The faithfull-
ness of the
Commanders
in *China*,

The overthrow
of the *Tartars*.

fed the frozen Sea, and invaded the Island *Thaoyven*, where they killed ten thousand that kept Garrisons there, together with all the Inhabitants; and by this one Act, having revenged their former discomfiture, they returned into *Tartary*, not with a resolution to sit still, but an intention to returne with greater Forces; By which retreat, all things remained quiet till the year 1627. in which the Emperour *Thienkius* dyed in the flow'r of his age, and with him the whole Empire of *China* seemed to fall to ruin and destruction; and, in the same year, the King of the *Tartars*, who had cruelly murdered many men, himselfe augmented the number of the dead.

Their cruelty.

The Kings of *China*, and *Tartary* both died.

Zungchinus choleda Emperour of *China*. *Thienzungus* more milde than his Predecessors.

The Souldiers Insolencies exasperate the Country of *Corea*.

The *Tartars* are brought into *Corea*.

Corea wasted.

After *Thienkius*, in the Empire of *China*, succeeded that unhappy Emperour *Zungchinus*, brother to the former, (of whom more hereafter.) And after *Thienmingus* King of *Tartary*, succeeded *Thienzungus* his Son, who changed the manner of his Fathers Government, and by good Councell began to governe the *Chineses* in courteous and sweet manner; but though he lived not long, yet he served for a good example for his Son to conquer *China* more by Civility and Humanitie, than by force of Armes.

In this year, great *Maovenlungus* Souldiers being insolent by want of action, grew very troublesome and offensive, by their Rapines and Disorders, to the *Coreans*, who were friends and Allies; and particularly they much exasperated the Province of *Hienkin*, insomuch that some of the Inhabitants of that place, moved with indignation of severall passages, secretly treated with the *Tartarian* King, to invade the *Chineffes* Army, in the habit and attire of the Inhabitants of *Corea*, from whom they could expect no treason, being leaguerd with them in friendship and amitie: to effect which design, these Traitors both to their Country, King, and the Emperour of *China*, promised their best assistance. This Councell pleased the *Tartar*, and therefore he sent a Vice-roy with a potent Army, to which the *Coreans* shewed the wayes, and guided them through all the passages; who falling upon the *Chineses* Armie (which suspecting nothing, was divided, and many stragling up and down the Country) made a huge Carnage amongst them. But when *Maovenlungus* perceived they were *Tartars*, he presently made head, rallied his forces, and vigorously opposed all those sharp assaults. But yet at length he was forced to yeeld the Field; and therefore leaving a Regiment or two, to hold the Enemy in action whilst his Army retreated, he fled to his ships, and to the Island which he had fortified. The *Tartars* were vexed and grieved, both to see their victory so bloody, and also that *Maovenlungus*, whom they chiefly aimed at, had escaped with most of his Army; and therefore enraged with anger, they fell upon the *Corean* Traitors, as false to them, and killed every man; (which action the King of *Tartary* himself afterward much condemned;) and then turning their wrath to the four Northern Provinces, which border upon *Tartary*, they wasted and destroyed them all in a moment.

In the mean time the King of *Corea* gathered an Army to resist the *Tartars*; and *Maovenlungus* also, having recruited his Forces, came into *Corea*, to revenge the received losse. The victorious *Tartars* were come within seven

seven Leagues of the principallest City of all *Corea*. And, finding the King to have taken the Straights and Passages of the Mountains which lead unto it, they desperately resolved to force their passage. The Battel was hardly begun, when *Maovenlungus*, after a long march, falls in upon their Rear: the *Tartars* finding themselves encompassed before & behind, nor any means to escape but by dint of Sword, fought most desperately, sustaining the shock of two Armies; such was the fury of this battell, as *China* never saw; for, (it is strange to write, yet very true) of the three Armies, none was victorious; but all, in a manner, destroyed. Of the *Tartarian* Armie fifty thousand were found wanting; The *Corean* Armie lost seveny thousand, and few or none escaped of the *Chineses*, for their Quarter being most commodious for the *Tartars* flight, they there made their most vigorous Charges, and so forced their way towards their own Country. So as none of them all gained the field, or could prosecute the course of a Victory. Yet the King of *Corea* made a shift to rallie so many together again, as to take possession of those his Countries which the *Tartarians* by their flight had left desolate. But the *Tartars* after all their losses, ceased not to make frequent in-rides into the Country of *Leao-tung*, and took all the Orientall part of it. From thence they made incursions into the other part, and carried away great Preys and Booties; But they were alwayes so beaten, and so defeated, as they could never fix a constant habitation there. For by this time were arrived seven excellent Gunners from the *Portuguese* quarters, which both by themselves, and by reaching the *Chineses*, advanced infinitely the King of *China* his affairs; especially where that Christian Vice-Roy, called *Sun Ignatius*, was Commander in chiefe, of whose affairs we shal say something hereafter.

The Fight and slaughter of 3. Armies.

The Eastern part of *Leao-tung* is under the *Tartar*.

The *Portugese* send succour.

In this conjuncture of affairs, the Emperour *Xungchinus* sent a new Commander called *Yvenus* into *Leao-tung*, with a new Armie and full power to conclude a Peace with the *Tartars*, if they would admit it: For the disorders of the times had caused so many needy persons, Theevs, and Cut throats, that the Emperour grew more anxious how to suppress this great domestick Enemy, which seemed to aim at the Kingdoms ruin, than he was of the *Tartarian* Forces. This *Yvenus* was a crafty and subtrill wit, most eloquent both in speaking and writing; who by politick discourses, drawn from his military experience, had wrought so much, not only upon the Emperours mind, but also upon all the Councell, that they esteemed what he concluded as a Law to be observed: Wherefore the *Chineses* put all their confidence in him; nor had they been frustrated of their hopes, had not this wicked man been more wedded to his own interest, and love of Riches, than to the publick good, and fidelitie to his Prince: For first he received of the *Tartars* a vast Summe of gold; which wrought so much upon him, as that having invited to a Banquet that most Valorous and Faithfull Champion *Maovenlungus*, whom the *Tartars* only feared, he there poisoned that great Commander. After this he made a most ignominious and shamefull Peace with the *Tartars*, condescending to all, that those that had fed him with Riches, could desire. But when the Emperour had perused the Treatie, he presently found his Plenipotentiarian had sold him, and therefore refused to ratifie or confirm the Articles.

A crafty Commander of the *China* Army.

Maovenlungus poisoned.

M m

What

The Kings
Court besieged.

The perfidious
General killed

The Tartars
forage all the
Country of Pe-
king, & depart.

The King of
Tartary dies;
another suc-
ceeds.

Zungteus the
new King of
Tartary, pru-
dent & milde.

Wh at should *Tvenus* act in this exigent? That he might force the Empe-
rour to admit them, he perswaded the *Tartars*, in the year 1630. to enter
China by another Country than that which was committed to his charge,
promising them for his part, he would no way with his Army hinder
their progresse. The *Tartars* knew that his avarice had so potent an As-
cendent over him, as that they need to fear no hurt from him; and upon
that confidence admitted of his Counsell. Wherefore being secure from
all assaults from any Enemie behind them, they entred the Province of *Pe-
king*, & at length besieged the Kings Court: Infomuch that his Council
perswaded him to leave the Imperial City, and retire to the Southern Pro-
vinces; but he protested he would rather die, than quit the Northern
quarters; and not only so, but he forbade any to depart the Court, or
Town besieged. In the mean time, the *Tartars* make many fierce as-
saults, and as often were valiantly beaten back with great losse and
Carnage. *Tvenus* was called to resist the *Tartars*, for as yet his Traiterous
Complots were not discovered. And lest he should discover his Trea-
son, he comes with his Armie neer the very Walls of the Court, which
was of a vast extent, and as it were a great partition between the two Ar-
mies, from which both the *Chinese* and *Tartars* forces were perfectly dis-
cerned. But though *Tvenus* was under the Emperours eye, yet he acted
little, for his only aim being to returne home laden with Riches, he ne-
ver desisted to perswade the Emperour to admit his conditions of Peace.
So that the Emperour finding him evidently to be a Traitor, disclosing
his intention to none of his Council nor Governours, sends to invite him
to a private Council of war, giving also order that he should be admit-
ted into the City over the Walls, lest if any Gate should be open, the
Tartar being so neer might presse in upon them; but indeed he ordered the
businesse in this manner, lest he should bring his Armie into the City
with him. *Tvenus* therefore knowing he had many chief men about the
Emperous person, who were both his favourities and friends, and that
none of them gave him the least sign of any distaste that the Emperour
might conceive against him, boldly and securely presented himself at
Court; and as soon as he appeared, he was presently arrested, and after
some few questions, the Emperour commanded him to be killed. The *Tar-
tars* hearing of his death (before the *China* Armie had a new General assign-
ed) raise the siege, ransack all the Country round about, and after they had
made excursions to the next bordering Province of *Xantung*, richly laden
with all manner of Spoiles, returne to their first residence in *Leaotung*.

From thesetimes til the year 1636. the event of their Warrs was very va-
rious; but in general we observe, that the *Tartars* could never fix a foot in
China, but they were presently beaten out again. In this same year *Tbienzun-
gus*, King of the *Tartars* died; after whom, succeeded his Son *Zungteus*, Fa-
ther to him that now governs *China*, of whom we now must begin to treat.

This Prince, before his Reign, expressed much judgement in severall
Occurrences, surpassing all the Kings of *Tartary* in Humanity, and obli-
ging courtesie: For when he was young, he was sent by his Father into *Chi-
na*, where he lived secretly, and learned the *China's* Manners, Doctrine and
Language, and now coming to the Kingdom, he changed, and far surpass-
ed

fed all the Examples of his Predecessors : For having observed, that their too hard and cruel usage of the *Chineffes*, had been the principal obstacle of their advancement, to the end he might conquer that Empire he so much thirsted after, as well by Love as by Arms, he courteously entertained and cherished all those of *China* which came unto him, using all Prisoners with great sweetnes, and inviting them either to submit freely to his Government, or take their course with full freedom. The fame of his humanitie was spread far and neer; which induced many Commanders and chief Officers to fly unto him; by whose means and help, at length he became Emperour of that spacious and flourishing Country. For experience shews us, that Love and Humanity do work more upon mens hearts, in conquering and conserving Kingdomes, than Arms; and crueltie of the Conquerors hath lost that; which strength of Arms had happily subdued. Wherefore when the *Chineffes* came to understand, that the King of *Tartary* did not only afford them a refuge, but friendship, many great persons flying the Indignation of the King of *China*, sheltered themselves under the *Tartars* protection. For, by reason of the *China's* great Avarice and Perfidiousness, it's a necessary, (though most inhumane) Maxim, that those Officers perish, who have managed the Kingdomes Affairs with lesse successe. For they easily are brought to beleieve, that such unhappy events, do not proceed so much from the frown of inconstant Fortune, as it doth from the perfidie or negligence of the Commanders. So as if any fought unhappily, or if he lost the Country committed to his charge, if any Sedition or Rebellion happened, the Governors hardly ever escaped alive. Seeing therefore they found so much Humanitie in the *Tartar*, and so much Inhumanity in the Emperour, they rather chose to fly to the former.

Mildenesse and Gentlenes to be used in Conquering Nations.

A barbarous Principle of the *Chineffes*.

By this occasion give me leave to relate what happened to that incomparable Commander (renowned both for Fidelitie and Fortitude) called *Ignatius*. This Heroick mind preferred his fidelitie to his Prince, before his life, before the *Tartarian's* protection, yea even before the strength of his formidable Army; and chose rather, with his unparallel'd Fidelity, to submit his head to a Block by an unjust sentence, than to abandon his Country, or once commit the least fault against his Sovereign, though guilty of much injustice towards Him: He might perchance have swayed the Sovereign Scepter of *China*, if he would have hearkened to his Souldiers, but he rather chose to die gloriously, than to be branded with the name of a Traitor.

Ignatius the chief Commander of the Christians unjustly killed.

Ignatius his fidelity.

After this man therefore had gained several Victories against the *Tartars*, and recovered many Cities from their possession, so as he hoped shortly wholly to extirpate them out of *China*, His Souldiers being long without pay, seditiously plundred and pillaged a Town which had ever been faithfull to the King. *Ignatius* by several petitions and Remonstrances to the Emperour, had declared his wants of mony, and their want of Pay; but because he fed not those venal souls that managed the businesse for mony and presents, they alwaies suppressed his humble addresses for relief. Besides, this man being a very pious Christian, he did nothing in his government, but what was conform to Reason and Justice; which was the

Ignatius his Piety.

cause he incurred the hatred of all the ancient Prefects, who usually receiving Bribes from the contesting parties, demanded favour of *Ignatius* for their Clients. But it was in vain to intercede for any, unless the justness of the cause did also ballance their Petitions. And these men attributing this proceeding, not to vertue, but to his Pride, thinking themselves undervalued by him, dealt under-hand with the Prefects in the Court, to stop the Armies pay, that so they might destroy this innocent man. Moreover, he was envied by the Commanders in the very Court, because he came to this eminent dignitie by his own valour and industry; which they imagined was only to be given to Doctors, and *Ignatius* was but a Licenciat, as if the most learned must needs be also the most valorous. In this conjuncture of affairs, the Souldiers not contented with the seditious pillage, seeing the most imminent danger hanging over their most esteemed and beloved Governour, by reason of their folly, go about to perswade him to make himself King of that Province; nay more, to take the whole Empire to himself, as a thing due to his Prowess and Merits; promising their whole strength to effect the businesse; and also to extirpate those men about the Emperour, that aimed more to compass their malicious ends, than to promote the general affaires of the Empire: But *Ignatius*, by pious admonitions, staved them off from further violence, made them obedient and quiet, commanded all to stand faithfull to the Emperour of *China*, and punished the chief of that sedition.

This supreme act of fidelity deserved a better esteem and acceptance, than that which was returned by the Emperour and his Court: who flighting this his allegiance, sent another Vice-Roy in his place, and commanded him to appear in Court: He then perceived they aimed at his life; and the Souldiers suspected the businesse; and therefore, mad with anger, they all jointly rose in Arms for him, swearing they would live and die with him, and that he should not present himselfe at Court. *It is our duty (say they) to conserve thy life, which hast been so carefull of ours; and we have strength and courage enough to resist all the force of thy perfidious Enemies.*

He chuses
rather to die,
than either to
reign, or to
serve the
Tartars.

But *Ignatius* was deaf to all these allurements, and studied by all means to sweeten their exulcerated minds; alwaies inculcating to them to die true and loyall to their Sovereigns service: chusing rather to water that ungratefull Soil of his native Country with the streams of his Blood, than either to spill his Enemies blood by the force and pow'r of his Souldiers, or to retire to the *Tartarian* King, which offered him so fair preferments. But many of his Captains fell off to the *Tartars*; following, in this, not his example, but that of many others, whom they saw eminently promoted amongst the *Tartars*. Some of those that then fled from the Emperour, are now chief Commanders under the *Tartarian* King, in their *China* Empire; some also have obtained the dignity of Princes, or Royolets in several Countries, for the reward of their Valour and faithfull Service against *China*. *So much more piercing is that wedge, which is made of the same wood.*

But although hitherto these *Tartarian* Wars had caused great troubles & tempests in the *China* Empire, yet all things now seemed so calmed and pacified, as they seemed secure from any further danger; for the Western
part

part of *Leaotung* was strongly fortified, and there was a great Army in the Island of *Cu*, and the bordering quarters, which hindered the *Tartars* in the Eastern part of the Country, which they possessed, from further passage. But now the chiefest danger was from the Traitors and Theeves which were in the very Bowells of the Country; who finally destroyed it, and gave it up in Prey to the *Tartars*.

The Theeves in *China*, a chief occasion of its overthrow.

I touched something of their Commotions before, now we must treat a little more largely of their proceedings, that the Reader may see how the *Tartars* came to subdue and conquer *China*.

The first Combination of these Rovers appeared in the remote Country of *Suchuen*, who having pillaged divers Cities, and emboldened by prosperous successe, ventured to besiege the chief City of that Country call'd *Cingtu*; which they had infallibly taken, if that valiant Amazon, whom I mentioned before, had not come to relieve it with her Army; but by her valour they were beaten off with great losse; and, not being wholly extinguished, they retired into the mountains to recruit their Forces.

Severall Theeves.

They are defeated, but not vanquished

These were seconded by a like race of people in the Province of *Queichen*, who took occasion of rising by reason of an unjust Sentence passed in a sute betwixt two Grandees of that Country, he who lost the cause being offended with the Governors. These roving companions, first kill'd all the Magistrates which had pronounced that unjust sentence, and then they defeated the Vice-Roy his Army; yet afterwards he routed them with a new Army, but could not extinguish them. Besides these, the Famin increasing in the Northern quarters in the Countries of *Xensi* and *Xantung*, by reason of a great inundation of Locusts which devoured all, there ris up by this occasion, many loose fellows which lived by Rapin. These men at first were few in number, and small in strength, and after only preying in little places, presently fled to the Mountains; but finding they got both Meat and Riches, with little labour and lesse cost, they quickly got Companions to re-inforce them; This Sedition being also much augmented by the Emperour *Zungchinus* his notable avarice, who so exhausted the people by Imposts and Taxes, as if it had been a year of the golden Age. The Prefects of the Provinces, not being able presently to repress the insolency of those people, they daily increased in courage and strength; Inso-

Famin augments the Theeves.

And the Emperour his avarice.

much as in several Countries they had eight very considerable Armies. They chose the strongest & valiantest men amongst them for their Commanders; and these persons being grown rich and potent by preying, deposed now the person of Ring-leaders of Theeves, and aspired to no lesse than to the Empire of *China*. And at first they fought one against another, every one pillaging another of what he could: But at length things were brought to that passe, that two of the Commanders being only left alive, these two prevailed with the Souldiers of those that were killed, to follow their Ensignes and Fortune; and they knowing well that if they were taken by the Emperours Officers, they could not escape a most certain death, easily resolved to shelter themselves under the Arms of these two victorious persons. The name of one of these chief Brigands was *Licungzus*; the second was called *Changhienschungus*; two notorious bold roguish fellows; who lest they should destroy one anothers fortunes by their ambitious emulation,

The Commanders aspire to the Empire.

The names of the chief felons

emulation, separated themselves far from one another, resolving both to pursue their prosperous fortunes. *Licungzus* therefore possessed himselfe of the Northern parts of *Xensi* and *Honan*; and the other tyrannized over the Countries of *Suchuen* and *Huquang*. But that we may not interrupt our discourse, by delivering the Acts of both these together, we will first treat of *Licungzus* his feats, being he was the cause of the *Tartars* coming to the Empire, (which he himself might have possessed, if his proceedings had been moderate and humane;) and of the other we shall speak hereafter. Therefore in the year 1641. these pilferers having got immense riches in the Province *Xensi*, made an irruption, in a vast body, into that delicious sweet Province of *Honan*, and went strait to the chief City called *Caifung*, which they besieged. There was in that place a very great and strong Garrison, who by the benefit of Artillery mounted upon hand-wheeling Cars, forced them to quit the siege; then they fell upon all the neighbouring Cities, plundering, spoiling, and burning all they could master. Having hoorded up store of provision of Corn, and augmented their Army by a company of rascally Vagabonds and loytering Fellows, they returned again to besiege the Metropolitan City; but despairing to take it by Force or Assaults, they resolved to ruin it by a long siege, that they might enjoy the immense Riches of that noble City; and though this Town be three great Leagues in circumference, yet they rounded it so by their lines, as nothing could enter the City; this drove them to some straits; for although the Purveyor for victualls had brought in good store of provision in the two moneths space in which they were absent, yet because that Province which used to be most plentiful, was now deficient in Corn, they could not make sufficient provision for six moneths siege, for such an infinite multitude of people as were retired within the Walls; Yet it held out most resolutely for the space of six moneths, in which time though they were brought to hard shifts, yet hoping alwaies for succour from their Emperor, they would never submit to any conditions. I dare not relate to what an excessse this Famin came to; but it seems it surpassed the Famin of *Hierusalem*; a pound of Rice was worth a pound of Silver; and a pound of any old rotten skin was sold at ten Crowns; dead mens flesh was sold publickly in the Shambles as Hogs flesh, and it was held an act of Piety to expose the dead in the streets for others to feed on, who shortly were to be food for others; but I will passe over, and conceal yet more horrible things than I have related. This City lies towards the South side of that vast and precipitate River which the *Chineses* call *Hoang*, because the streams alwaies appear of a yellowish saffron colour; and because the River is higher than the plain levell downs, of a Leagues distance from the Town, they built upon the River side, a long and strong Bulwark of great square stones, to prevent all inundations. The Emperours Army, after long expectation, came to relieve the Town, and advanced as far as these Bulwarks, and having considered the situation of the Country and Enemies Camp, it was thought the fittest & easiest way to raise the siege without giving battail, and to let in the water upon the enemies Army, by some breaches made in that long Wall or Bulwark. It was in *Autumn* when they took this resolution, and the River, by reason of extraordinary rains, was swoln bigger than

They vex several Provinces.

They besiege the noble City *Caifung*.

An unheard of Famin.

than ever before; and they, making the Sluces, or inlets, too great, and the Breaches too wide, gave way to such an Ocean of water, as it overran the walls of the Town (which were very stately and high) involving not only many of the enemies in its ruin and destruction; but also 300000. men, and the City it self perished in those floods of water. So the ancient City, which heretofore had been honoured by the Emperor's Residence, appeared no more a place of pleasure, but a vast Pool or Lake for Monsters of the waters to inhabit; for the houses of the Town were not over-run with water, but also beaten down; and also the Church of the Christians, together with their Priest, who was one of the Society of Jesus; who when he could timely enough have saved himself, chose rather to lay down his life for the sheepe: For that City had many Christians. The destruction of this City happened the ninth of *Oct.* 1642. about which time this famous Conductour of Theeves took the name of King, with an addition of *Xun-vang*, which sounds as much as *Prosperous*, and so was stiled *Licungzus the prosperous*; and having in a manner taken all the Country of *Honan* into his Dominion, he returned into the Province of *Xensi*, and won it wholly to his subjection. When he came to *Sigan*, which is the Metropolis of *Xensi*, he found some resistance from the Garrison; but yet he took it in three daies, and for a reward and encouragement to his Souldiers, he gave it to them to pillage also for three daies space; and then he gathered up all the Corn of the whole Province, as well to keep all the Country in their duty to him, as also to leave no Provision for the Emperours Army. And now thinking himself secure of the whole Empire, he took the name of Emperour upon him, and stiled the Family wherein he thought to establish this Dignity, *Thienxunam*, as much as to say, *Obedient to Heaven*; By which Title he perswaded the Souldiers and the People, that it was by the disposal of the Heavens that he should reign, that he might deliver the people from the Emperours Avarice, and extirpate those wicked Governours that so much vexed the Nation, & deliver them from all their perfidious plots. For he knew well, that this Glorious Title would be very acceptable to them of *China*, who beleieve that Kingdoms and Empires come only from Heaven, and are not gained by any Art or Industry of Man; and that his actions might carry a face correspondent to his illustrious Title, he began to use the People with all humility and sweetnesse; not permitting any Souldier to wrong or injure them; only he persecuted all the Officers call'd Presidents, which he could find, and all those he put to death; and as for those that had been Presidents, because he found them rich, he made them pay great Fines, and let them live, remitting all Taxes in the places he subdued; severely commanding that the subjects should be treated with all civility and courtesie. So as all men applauding and loving so sweet and milde a Government, easily submitted to his Power and Dominion; but where the Governours use Tyranny, there the subject hath little care of Fidelity. There were in this City *Sigan* two Priests which served the Christians that were Jesuits, and suffered much in the sackage of the City, but being afterwards known for Strangers, they were used with all humanity.

The City of *Caifung* is drowned.

The General of the Theeves takes the Title of a King.

He takes the Country of *Xensi*.

Calls himself Emperour.

The Theeves good Government.

In the mean time a third cause of this Empires ruine grew up in the Court,

The Prefects
Discord was
another cause
of the ruine of
China.

Court; which was hatched in the Emperour *Thienkins* his time: For that Emperour exalted an Eunuch called *Gueio*, to such a height and power, as he gave the absolute, and soveraign Command into his hands, and passed so far, as alwayes to stile him by the name of Father. This extravagant power caused much Envy, Dissention, and banding one against another, amongst the Governours, Presidents, Commanders, and Counsellors: and the Eunuch also added much to incense the flame, by his indiscreet usage of the favour he possessed; for if any man had touched him, either in word or writing, or expressed lesse respect unto him in conversation, or behaviour, or did not flatter the base fellow, he would presently give order to put him to death, though he were a very eminent person; or at least degrade him from all Office or Dignity. By which means he exasperated many, and amongst the rest he offended *Zunchinius* when Prince; who now, by the death of his Brother without issue, was come to to be Emperour of *China*. This Emperour knew that the Eunuch had moved Heaven and Earth to hinder his coming to the Crown; but seeing he could not effect that, at least he maintained a seditious faction against the great ones, which finally proved the destruction of the Estate; For these men banding in two factions, studied more how to destroy one another, than to advance the publique good; yet both parties pretended the general benefit, but both neglected it, Every party endeavouring to extoll and exalt his own Creatures into places of trust and power: All which when *Zunchinius* the emperour went about to redresse, he exasperated the minds of many of the Commanders against him; for as soon as he came to the Crown, he cruelly persecuted all that favoured the Eunuch; and in fine, killed this very Eunuch which had been his Predecessors Favourite, together with many more of his partie; of which Tragedy I will only relate the Catastrophe. The Emperour *Zungchinus* resolving to destroy both the Eunuch & all his power, sent him an order to go visit the Tombs of his Ancestors, to consider if any of those ancient Monuments wanted reparation: the Eunuch could not refuse so honourable an employment, which seemed rather an addition to his former honours; but he had not gone far upon his journey, but there was presented to him (from the Emperour) a Box of Silver gilt, with a Halter of Silk folded up in it; by which he understood he was to hang himself by the Emperors order: which he could not refuse, being that kind of death (amongst the *Chineses*) is counted honourable, when it is accompanied with such formalities. But by this occasion the Emperour raised against himself new Factions and more Traitours, which held secret correspondence with the Theeves Army. Hence it came to passe, that no Army was sent to oppose them; or if any went, they did no manner of action, being alwayes hindered by the emulation of others; nay it happened often, that when they might have taken great advantages, yet the occasion was neglected, lest the Commanders should increase other mens Power and Credit, (by their Victories,) with the Emperour. These Dissentions and Emulations happend so seasonably to the Roving Army of Theeves, as that to come, to see, and conquer, was to them one and the self same thing, as I shall declare unto you.

Whilest

Whilest these transactions passed in the Court, *Licungzus* Conductor of the Theeves, having settled all things in the Country of *Xenfi*, passed to the East; and coming to the famous great River of *Crocens*, finding no body to defend it, he passed over with as much facility, as it might have been maintained with ease, if there had been placed but a handfull of Souldiers. For this River runnes with a violent rapid course, and a vast Sea of waters from West to East; but being there was no man to defend it, they passing it easily, presently seized upon the chief and richest City in all those quarters, called *Kaiangchen*, which is situated neer the South bankside of that River; and being carried on with a strong gale of Fortune, he seized upon many other Cities, every one desiring either to free themselves from further vexation, or blindly and fondly submitting themselves to any new change of Government. For we commonly delight in varieties and novelties, and hoping for better, we find worse. Only the City of *Thaiyven* made some resistance, but being presently subdued, was fined with great sumes of money for their temerity. The Emperour *Zungchinus* hearing the Theeves had passed the River *Crocens*, and were advanced to the very Confines of *Xenfi* (which borders upon the Province where he had placed his Throne and Royall Seat) he sent an Army under the Lord Marshal of *China*, to hold them at least in play, if he could not overthrow them; But this Army did just nothing; nay most of the Souldiers ran to the Thieving party, in so much as the Lord Marshal himself, called *Colaüs Lius*, seeing Affairs grew so desperate, Hang'd himself for fear of further shame and dishonour. The Emperour hearing of the ill successe of his Affairs, began to think of leaving the Northern parts, where his Royal City of *Peking* is situated, and to passe to *Nankuing* which is far more Southward; but he was dissuaded from this intended course as well by his loyal, as disloyal subjects: by these, that they might give him up more speedily into the enemies hands, before their treachery was discovered; and by the others, lest his flight might trouble the Kingdome more, and discourage all his Subjects from giving their best assistance; for they thought the City impregnable, being fortified with so strong a Garrison; nor did they doubt that the Kings presence would draw the forces of the whole Kingdom to him. And their Counsel had been good, if the Court had been purged of Traytors.

The Theeves take the Province of *Xenfi*.

The Emperour of *China* is troubled,

In the mean time the Theeves Conductor, who was no lesse quick and nimble in execution, than witty in invention, sowing a Fox his tail to the Lions skin, caused many of his Souldiers in a disguised habit to creep into that Princely City, and gave them money to trade in trifling ware, till he assaulted the walls with the body of his Army; for then they had order to raise sedition, and tumult in the City; and, considering they were a Company of desperate Fellows, and of a very low and base fortune, it is stupendious to think how they could keep so profound secrecy in a matter of so high concernment: But to this mine, which was prepared in the bowels of the City, he held a secret train of Intelligence, with the Lieutenant of the City; who seeing the Emperours Affairs desperate, is said to have dealt with the Conductor of these Brigants about giving up the City unto their power; But, however it was, these Pilferers came in a

The Stratagem of the Theef.

short time to besiege the Royal City of *Peking*. There was in that City a vast Garrison, and as great a quantity of Artillery; but on the Quarters upon which the enemy made their assault, there was none charged with Bullets, but only with Powder.

The Royall
City of *Peking*
is taken.

Wherefore being secure from any annoy from that side, in the year MDCXLIV. before the rising of the Sun, they entred the Metropolitan City of all *China* by one of the Gates which was opened to them; nor was there any long resistance made, even by those that were faithfull to their Prince; for the Souldiers of the Theef, which lay lurking in the City, made such a tumult and confusion, as none knew whom to oppose, in which respect they made a great slaughter, so as *Licungzus* in this Babylonian confusion, marched victorious through the City, till he came to the very Emperours Palace, where though he found some resistance from the faithfulllest Eunuchs, yet notwithstanding he presently entred that famous and renowned Palace; And that which exceeds all admiration, the enemy had passed the first Wall, and Precinct, and yet the Emperour knew nothing of so strange a passage; for the Traiterous Eunuchs, which were of most Authority, fearing he might escape by flight, deferd to admonish him of his own danger, or of the taking of the City, till they saw he could not possibly evade: Who hearing this dolefull news, first demanded if he could get away by any means; but when he heard that all passages were beset, he is said to have left a Letter writ with his own Blood, in which he bitterly expressed to all posterity, the infidelity and perfidiousnesse of his Commanders, and the innocency of his poor Subjects; conjuring *Licungzus*, that seeing the Heavens had cast the Scepter into his hands, he would, for his sake, take revenge of such perfidious Creatures. After this reflecting that he had a Daughter Marriageable, who falling into the villains hands might receive some affronts, he called for a Sword, and beheaded her with his own hands in the place; then going down into an Orchard, making a Rope of his Garter, he hung himself upon a Prune tree. Thus that unfortunate Emperour put a period, as well to that Empire, which had flourished so long with much splendor, riches, and pleasure, as to his Illustrious Family of *Taimingus*, by finishing his life upon so contemptible a Tree, and in such an infamous manner: To all which circumstances, I adde one more; that as the Empire was rected by a Theef, so it was axtinguished by another; for although others were chosen to succeed him, as we shall relate hereafter, yet because they held a smal parcel of the Empire, they are not numbred amongst the Emperours. His example was followed by the Queen, and by the Lord Marshall, who is call'd in their language *Colaus*, together with other faithfull Eunuchs; So as those pleasant Trees which served heretofore for their Sports and pleasures, now became the horrid and surest Instruments of their death. And this cruell butchering of themselves passed not only in the Court but also in the City, where many made themselves away, either by hanging, or drowning by leaping into Lakes; For it is held by this Nation to be the highest point of fidelity, to die with their Prince, and not to live and be subject to another.

The Emperour
having kild his
Daughter hang-
ged himself.

Whilest these things were acting, *Licungzus* enters the Palace Victori-
ous,

ous, and ascending up to the Chair of State, sate himself down in that Imperiall Throne; but it is recorded, that in executing this first Act of Royalty, he sat so restlessly and unquietly, yea so totteringly, as if even then that Royal Chaire would foretel the short durance of his felicity. The next day after, he commanded the body of the dead Emperour to be cut into final pieces, accusing him of oppression and cruelty against his subjects, As if he, being a villanous Traitor, and a Theef, after the saccaging & burning so many Provinces, and shedding such an Ocean of blood, had been of a better disposition. So we often condemn others, when we do worse our selves, and remark, yea augment, the least faults of others, when we either take no notice of, or diminish our own. This Emperour *Zungchinus* was Father of three Sons, of which the eldest could never be found, though all imaginable means was used for his discovery; some think he found means to fly away; others think he perished by leaping with others into the Lake; the two others being yet little Children, were by the Tyrants command beheaded three days after; his barbarous humour not sparing even innocent blood: Which disposition he made further to appear, when casting off that vail of Piety and Humanity, with which he had for sometime charmed the people, he commanded all the Principal Magistrates to be apprehended, of which he murdered many with cruel torments, others he fined deeply, and reserved the Imperiall Palace for his own abode. He filled that most noble and rich City with ransacking Souldiers, and gave it up to their prey and plunder; where they committed such execrable things, as are both too long, and not fit to be related. But by this his horrid cruelty, and Tyranny, he lost that Empire which he might have preserved by courtesie and humanity.

The Theefs
Tyranny and
cruelty.

Amongst the other imprisoned Magistrates, there was one a venerable person called *Us*, whose Son *Usanguetus* governed the Army of *China*, in the Confines of *Leaotung*, against the *Tartars*. The Tyrant *Licungzus* threatned this old man with a most cruel death, if by his paternall power over his Son, he did not reduce him with his whole Army, to subjection and obedience to his power; promising also great Rewards and Honours to them both, if by his fatherly power (which they hold sacred) he did prevail for his submission. Wherefore the poor old man writ to his Son this ensuing Letter.

It is well known that the Heavens, Earth, and Fate can cause these strange vicissitudes of Fortune which we behold; know my Son, that the Emperour Zunchinus, and the whole family of Taimingus are perished. The Heavens have cast it upon Licungzus; we must observe the times, and by making a vertue of necessity, avoyd his Tyranny, and experience his liberality, he promiset to thee a Royal dignity, if with thy Army thou submit to his Dominion, and acknowledge him as Emperour; my life depends upon thy answer; consider what thou owest to him that gave thy life.

To this Letter his Son *Usanguetus* returned this short answer. *He that is not faithfull to his Sovereign, will never be faithful to me: and if you forget your duty and fidelity to our Emperour, no man will blame me if I forget my duty and obedience to such a father. I will rather die than serve a Theef.*

The *Tartars*
called into
China against
the *Theeves*.

And presently after the dispatch of this Letter, he sent an Embassador to the King of *Tartary*, desiring his help and force to subdue this Usurper of the Empire; and knowing that the *Tartars* abound in men, but want women, he promised to send him some store of them; and presented him with severall curious Silks, and sent him great store of Silver and Gold. The *Tartarian* King neglected not this good occasion, but presently marched with fourescore thousand men, which were in Garrison in *Leao-tung*, to meet General *Usangueius*, to whom he expressed himself in these words. *To the end to make our Victory undoubted, I counsell you to cause all your Army to be clad like Tartars, for so the Theef will think us all Tartars, seeing I cannot call greater Forces out of my Kingdome so soon as is required.*

The *Theeves*
fly from the
Tartars.

They carry a-
way the Treas-
ures of the
Palace.

Zungteus King
of the *Tartars*
dyes.

Usangueius, thirsting nothing but revenge, admitted all conditions, little thinking (as the *Chineffes* say) that he brought in *Tigres* to drive out Dogs. *Licungzus* hearing the march of the *Tartars*, together with *Usangueius*, knowing himself not able to resist, quitted the Court and Palace as easily as he had taken it: but he carried with him all the rich spoils of the Court, and marched away into the Province of *Xensi*, where he established his Court in the noble City of *Sigan*, which heretofore had been the seat of the Emperours. It is accounted that for eight daies space by the four Palace gates, there was nothing seen but a continuall succession of Coaches, Horses, Camels, and Porters, carrying away the precious treasures; though they left also much, because the enemy approached. Thus the immense Riches of Gold and Silver, which the Emperours of the *Taimingean* Family had at leasure hoorded up, in the space of two hundred and fourescore years, were in a moment dispersed. But although they fled very speedily, yet they could not avoid the swift *Tartarian* Horses; for overtaking their Luggage, and the Rear of the Army, they pillaged, and vexed them for eight daies; but yet they either could not, or would not passe the River *Croceus*, that so they might speedily returne to amuse the trembling hearts of the Territory of *Peking*. The *Tartars* returne therefore victorious and rich into the City *Peking*, and there being admitted by the *Chineffes*, they gave them the Empire. Where it is to be observed, that although *Zungteus*, the *Tartarian* King, dying at the first entrance into *China*, did not obtain that noble Empire he so much thirsted after, yet he gave those Instructions, of the manner of conquering it, to his Council, that they never desisted till they obtained it. This Prince dying, declared his Son of six years old, his Successor; commanding all his own Brethren to manage the Childs Affairs with all fidelity and circumspection, making his eldest brother his Tutor, and all those brethren, being uncles to the Child, by a stupendious union, and never to be parallel'd in any ambitious Nation, exalted this Infant to the possession of the Empire.

The *Tartars*
refuse to de-
part *China*.

These things being thus passed, *Usangueius*, seeing the Thief expelled, began to think of creating a new Emperour, one of the *Taiminga's* Family, who was a Prince not far distant: But first being mindfull of his promises made to the *Tartars*, he offers them their rewards; he highly extols their Fortitude and Fidelity in the Kingdomes quarrel, and finally, desires them now to depart the Country quietly, and to entertain a strict alliance and

and friendship with it, seeing they had abundantly revenged all former injuries. To this demand the *Tartars* returned a long premeditated answer, but far contrary to what *Usanguiens* expected, which they delivered in these terms.

We do not think it yet a fit time to leave you and this Empire, unless, having heard our Reasons, you shall still presse it; for we consider, that many of the Theeves are still extant, and seem rather dispersed than extinguished; and we hear that their great Conductor *Licungzus*, hath fixed his Imperial Seat in *Sigan*, the Metropolis of the Province of *Xenfi*; by which means he still possesseth the richest and most populous Provinces, which are still under his Dominion. If we depart, worse is to be feared will follow: He feared us *Tartars*; when he hears we are gone, having now time to recruit his Forces, he will doubtlesse make new Invasions, and perchance we shall not be able to send new Succours: We therefore resolve to prosecute the Victory, and quite extinguish those Vagabonds, that so you may deliver the Empire to your designed King, in full peace and tranquility. Be not solicitous of paying our promised rewards, for they are as safe in yours, as in our own, hands. That which we now desire to execute, is, that which presseth most, and seems to us to require no delay; that you, with part of your Army and part of ours, march speedily against *Licungzus*, and we with the rest, take our march towards the Province of *Xantung*, to extirpate those Theeves that have settled there; By this means the peace of the Kingdom will be firmly established.

Their Craft
and Deceit.

Usanguiens either did not understand the Stratagem, or if he did, he condescended not to irritate an Army which was in the Bowells of the Kingdom.

Before the *Tartars* (which were called) entred *China*, they sent into their own and other Kingdoms to raise as many men as possibly they could, to the end they might conquer the Empire after they had acquitted themselves of their promised assistance against the Theeves. But these Succours, not being arrived to re-inforce them, therefore they thought it best as yet to use no force, but gain time by fair words and new projects. But whilst this businesse was contriving, there came an immense company of *Tartars* into the Empire, not only from the Kingdoms of *Niuche*, and *Niulham*, but also from the old Occidental *Tartary*, and from a Country called *Tupi*, which is more Oriental, and lyes above the elevation of *Fapon*. This people is called *Tupi*, by reason they make their Coats of defence, or Breast plates, of fishes skin, which are in a maner impregnable. Nay, which is more, I saw very many who were come as far as the River *Volga*, which people these *Tartars* call *Alga-Tartars*, and I find they have a Notion of *Muscovy*, and *Polan*; but they are far more barbarous than the Oriental *Tartars* be; with these auxiliary Forces, came in the infant King of six years old, Son to the late deceased King of *Tartary*; and when these were joyned with the body of the Army, then they publickly proclaimed their right to the Empire, and openly declared their concealed intentions; and proclaimed this child of six years old, Emperour of *China*, by the name of *Xunchi*; and the new erected Imperial Family they stiled by the name of *Taicing*. The Child of six years old took possession of the ancient Throne of his Forefathers, with a great Gravity and Majesty, from whence he delivered this judicious Speech to the Commanders and to his Army.

A great company of *Tartars* enter *China*.

The *Tartars* seise upon the Empire of *China*.

Xunchi is crowned the first Emperour of the *Tartars* in *China*.

It is your strength and power more than my felicity (my dear and generous Uncles, & you the rest of my noble Commanders) which supports my weaknesse, and makes me so undantedly ascend and possess this Imperial Throne. My present assurance and this Chairs stability, I hope, is as happy a sign of my future prosperity, as its tottering proved unfortunate to the Thief Licungzus his Tyrannie. You see my first step to the Empire; But I know your valour to be such, that I look not only upon the Kingdom of China as my own, but conceive the Empire of the World, not only by me possessed, but also established. The rewards due to such incomparable Vertues, shall be no other than the riches of the Empire, and Royall dignities; proceed therefore valiantly and stoutly. The whole Court was astonished to hear a Child of six years old speak such things, and hence concluded, that fate or Heaven had elected him for King; the young Prince did assume his eldest Uncle, as his Tutor and Father, the same day he was admitted to the Empire: and therefore the *Tartars* in their language, called him *Amahan*, as much as to say, the Father King; which very thing, the *China's* express by the word *Amavang*. To this man therefore he remitted all the Conduct of his Wars, and to him it is, the *Tartars* owe all their greatnesse and Dominion: for as he excelled in Counsel and Prudence, so also he was as eminent in fortitude and fidelity; and withall, by the strength and force of his Reasons and Counsels did ravish the wisest men amongst the *Chineses*; and his Justice and Humanity did wholly enthrall and enchant the popularity. To all which I adde those fugitive Magistrates, who, as I related heretofore, had fled to the *Tartars* (to avoid the Emperours indignation) and did not a little promote their cause; for these men, sometimes by word and example, did seduce the hearts of the Subjects, and sometimes suggested excellent Counsels to the *Tartars*, against their own Country; and by both these means advanced themselves to high and eminent dignities amongst the *Tartars*.

The fidelity of
the Kings Tutor
called
Amavangus.

The same day some Bands of Souldiers were dispatched, with order to proclame *Usanguenius* a Tributary King to this new enstalled Emperour; which they performed with great magnificence, adding to his name (as usually they do) the Sirname of *Pingsi*, which sounds as much as *Pacifier of the Western world*: establishing his Kingdom in the Capital City in the Province of *Xensi*. This Prince considering, that he could expect no more honourable Dignity from the lawfull Successour to the Empire of *China*; and that the *Tartars* were come into the Empire, in so vast a number, that he could never hope to Conquer them, found means to dispencc with his hitherto uncorrupted fidelity, admitting the dignity, and submitting to the Emperour, and so he that had hitherto waged War for *China* against the Theeves, now was forced to march against *China* to subdue its Provinces to the *Tartarian* Empire. And as he was a Great Commander, so also by the help of the *Tartars* he quickly drove out the Theeves from his little Kingdom of *Xensi*, where to this day he reigneth in the Metropolitan City of *Sigan*. But by these honours the *Tartars* removed him from the practice of Arms, who remaining Armed, might have proved a dangerous Enemy.

Usanguenius
forced to serve
the *Tartars*.

It is not
known what
became of
Licungzus.

It was hitherto never known what became of *Licungzus*; some think he was killed by *Usanguenius* in the fight; though he never appeared more, neither

ther dead, nor alive, after this fight, in which all his forces were dissipated, or cut off. And with the same facility the *Tartars* subdued the Provinces of *Peking* and *Xantung*; where they immensely augmented their Armies, by the access of the *China's* Souldiers and Commanders which submitted to them; for the *Tartarians* admitted all, even the Conquered, to their Army, if they did cut their hair, and wear their habits after the *Tartarian* fashion: for in this Puntillio of habit and hair they were so rigorous, as they proclaimed it high Treason in all that did forbear it. Which Law, did many times endanger them, and disturb the whole frame of their Affairs: For the *Chineffes* both grieved, and fought more valiantly for their hair and habit, than for their Kingdom and Emperour; So as many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the *Tartars* in these Ceremonies, of which I could relate many examples, unlesse in this relation I had resolved to be brief. But all these little rubs, did not hinder, but that in lesse than the space of a year, (not counting *Leaotung*) they had conquered *Pe-king*, *Xanfi*, *Xensi*, and *Xantung*, which are the four vast Northern Provinces of *China*. In all which they changed nothing in their Political manner of Government, nay, they permitted the usual custom of the Philosophers of *China* to govern the Towns and Provinces; they left also the same Ex-
amens as were used for the approving of learned men; for by this prudent Counsel they wrought this effect, that having given the places of honour and trust to men of their own Creation, they found they surpassed the very *Tartars* in fidelity to them: yet they kept the *Militia* in their own hands, and the ordering thereof, and yet they stick'd not to admit even to these Offices, such of the Country as were faithfull to them; so, as in the Royal City they retained still the same Orders and degrees of Prefects, together with the six high Tribunals, as they were established in the former Emperours time: but so, as they were now compounded of *Chineffes*, and *Tartars*.

The *Tartars*
subdue several
Provinces.

They changed
no Laws of the
Nation.

In the mean time the news of the Emperours danger came to the Southern parts of *China*, and the Prefects of every City gathering together very great forces marched towards the City of *Peking*, but in their march they received the sad news of the Emperours death, and the taking of *Pe-king*; they therefore speedily called back their Forces, and also all their Ships, which yearly used to carry Provisions to the Emperours Court; a little after this, they received the news how the *Tartar* was invested in the Kingdom and proclaimed Emperour. I was then my selfe in the great City *Nanquin*, where I beheld a strange consternation and confusion in all things, till at length having recollected themselves, the Prefects resolved to choose an Emperour of the Family of the *Taiminges*, whom they called *Hungquangus*. This man had come hither (flying from the Theeves) out of the Province of *Honan*, and being he was Nephew to that famous Emperour *Vanley*, & cosin Germain to *Zungchini* the last deceased Emperour, they Crowned him with great pomp and ostentation, hoping for better fortune under his Government. As soon as this Prince was chosen, he sent an Embassage to the *Tartars*, begging Peace, rather than demanding it; for he offered them all the Northern Provinces which they had taken; if they would joyn in amity with him, But the *Tartars* well understood the Policy
of

Hungquangus is
Crowned Em-
perour in
Hanquin.

The *Tartars*
admit no Peace

Zunchinius his
Son appears at
Nankuing.

He causes trou-
bles in *China*.

The flight of
the *Chineses*.

The City
Yangcheu resist-
ing the *Tartar*
is taken and
burnt.

The *Tartars*
take several
places.

of these Prefects and Counsellours ; which was only to amuse them with a Peace, whilst they could recover their strength and force ; And therefore they returned answer, that they would not receive as a gift, that which they had conquered by force of Arms ; but seeing they had chosen a new Emperour, they might do well to defend him ; but as for them, they were resolved to have all or nothing. This Legacy coming to nothing, whilst both parties prepare to take the Field, appears at *Nankuing* a young man, who gave himself out to be the eldest Son to the late deceased Emperour *Zunchinius* ; and he gave no small evidences of this truth and Claime; nay, he was acknowledged by many of the Eunuchs. But the new elected Emperour *Hunquangus*, being strongly possessed with an ambition of reigning, would never acknowledge, nor admit him ; but commanded him to be imprisoned, and killed, as an Impostor ; though many of the Prefects enraged to hear of this order, hindered the execution of the sentence. But by this accident, things grew into a sedition, and the dispute was so high, that it gave occasion to the *Tartars* of assailing the Province and City of *Nankuing* ; some of the Prefects winking at it, if not enticing them underhand to this exploit. The *Tartars*, vigilant to lay hold of all advantages, hearing of these emulations & divisions, presently march out into the Territory of the City of *Hoaigan*, and coming to the East side of the River *Croceus*, they passe over speedily by the help of their Boats ; on the other side of this River stood the Army of *China*, which was so numerous, as if they had but cast off their very shoos, they had erected such a Rampart against the *Tartars*, as all the Horse would hardly have surmounted it. But it is the resolution and valour in War, that carries the Trophies, not the number of men : for hardly had the *Tartars* set foot in their Boats, but the *Chineses* ran all away, as Sheep use to do when they see the Wolf, leaving the whole shore unfenced, to their landing. The *Tartars* having passed the River, finding no enemy to resist, enter the most noble Province of *Nanking*, and in a trice make themselves Masters of all the North part of the Country, which lies upon the great River of *Kiang*, which is so vast, as it is worthily called the Son of the Sea ; where it deserves particularly to be noted as a rare thing in the Warfare of the *Tartars*, that before they enter into any Country, they chuse and name both the Governours, and Companies, with all the Officers necessary for all the Cities and places which they aym to take ; so as in a moment they run like a lightning, and no sooner they possesse it but it is fortified, armed, and defended. There was one City in these Quarters which made a generous resistance to all their reiterated assaults, called *Yangcheu*, where the *Tartars* lost the Son of a little Royalet. This City was defended by that faithful Imperial Champion called *Zunis Colans* ; but though he had a mightie Garrison, yet he was at length forced to yield, and the whole City was sacked, and both Citizen and Souldier put to the Sword ; and least the multitude of the dead Carcasses, should corrupt the Air, and ingender the Plague, they laid them all upon the tops of the Houses, and setting fire both to the City and Suburbs brought all to ashes, and to a total desolation.

By this progresse the Forces of the *Tartar* much encreased ; for the Governours of many places, & several Regiments came to submit to his Dominion.

minion. To all whom he, commonly, continued the same Commands and Offices they were established in before, and advanced many of them to higher dignity; and so by this Humanitie with which he treated all that came flying to him, and by the cruelty he used to those that resolved to make resistance to the Force of his Arms, he gained this, that most men resolved to partake of his sweet treatie, rather than of his cruelty: so he easily conquered all that which lies on the North side of that River, which I named before the Son of the Sea. This River being a *German League* in breadth, and rising from the West of *China*, holds its course to the East, and divides the Kingdom into Northern and Southern Quarters; it also divides the Country of *Nanking* in the very middle; though *Nanking* the Metropolitan and Royal City be placed in the Southern part. To Master this great Citie, they were to passe this River. They gathered therefore together many Ships, to Conquer this new Imperial seat, and also the new settled Emperour. The Fleet of *China* commanded by the most generous and faithfull Admiral called *Hoangchoangus*, lay towards the other side of this River. Here the Admiral fought so gallantly and resolutely, that he made it appear to the world, that the *Tartars* were not invincible; Till at length one of his own Commanders called *Thienus* born in the Citie of *Leaotung*, being corrupted by the *Tartars*, shot him with an Arrow to death: which Arrow fixed the unconstant wheel of *Chinas* fortune, and lost the whole Empire. But the Traitor, not contented with this perfidious Act, began himself to run away, and by his example drew all the rest to imitate this Ignominious Action. His impudence passed yet to a higher strain: for coming to the Imperial Citie, and finding the Emperour preparing to retire, he joyned himselfe with him, as a faithfull friend, participating of his adversity; till he saw the *Tartars* (who passing the River followed the Kings flight with all imaginable diligence) were come near him, & then he took the Emperour Prisoner, and delivered him to the *Tartarian* Army in the year MDCXLIV. This unfortunate Prince being thus betrayed before he had reigned full one year, was sent to *Peking*, and there upon the Town Wallis was hanged publicly in a Bow string, which kind of death the *Tartars* esteem most noble. The pretended Son to the Emperour *Xunchinius*, (whether he were true or false,) run the same course of fortune, when they had discovered him being kept still in Prison: for they did not onely put to death all those which belonged to the Imperial Family of the *Taiminges* by Consanguinitie, but after a diligent search extirpated all they could find, which belonged to them even by Affinitie; for it is a custom in *Asia*, if any one conquer a Kingdom, to root out all that belong to the Royal Family.

The Emperour
Hunquangus is
taken and killed.

After this, they divided their Army into two parts; the one they sent to conquer the Mediterranean Provinces of *Kiansi*, *Huquang*, & *Quangtung*, which are all of a marvellous extent; the other, like a swift Torrent, over-run all, till they came to the very Walls of the renowned and vast City of *Hangcheu*, which is the head City of the Province of *Chekiang*. Into this City the principal fugitives of the Army of *China* were retired; and those not only of the common Souldiers, but many great Commanders, and Prefects; where they resolved to chuse a new Emperour called *Lovan-*

The *Tartars*
run to the City
Hangcheu.

King *Lovingus*
love to his
Subjects.

Many of the
Kings Souldi-
ers drowned.

Hangcheu is
taken.

gus, of the ancient Family of *Taimingus*: But this Prince would never assume the Title of Emperour, but contented himself with the Title of King, thinking his fall would be lesse, and his death not so bitter, as if he fell from the Throne of an Emperour: but yet to the end to animate them to fight with more vigour than they had done heretofore, he promised them to take that Title when they had re-gained one Imperial City. He had not reigned three dayes (a shorter space than their personated Kings use many times to reign in their Tragedies) but the *Tartars* arrive; Which the fugitive Souldiers seeing, & thinking by this pinch of necessity to force their pay from the King and City, refused to fight before they had received their salary. It was on this occasion, that King *Lovingus* his heart, being not able to bear such a desolation of the City, of his people and Subjects, as he foresaw, gave such an example of his Humanity and Piety, as *Europe* never saw; for he mounted upon the City Walls, and calling upon his Knees to the *Tartarian* Captains, begged the life of his Subjects. *Spare not me* (quoth he) *I wil willingly be my Subjects victime*; & having said this, he presently went out to the *Tartars* Army, and was taken. This illustrious testimony of his love to his Subjects had not wanted a reward to Crown so Heroick an Action, if it had met with a generous Soul, like that of *Alexander* or of *Cesar*. When they had the King Prisoner, they commanded the Citizens to shut the Gates, and keep the Walls, least either their own, or the Kings Souldiers should enter the City; and presently they fell upon the Kings men, whom they butchered in a most cruel manner, but yet the water destroyed more, than their Swords or Arrows; for many cast themselves headlong into the great River of *Ciantang*, which is a League broad, and runs neer the City; others leaping and overcharging the Boats in the River were presently sunck; others flying away full of fear and confusion, thrust one another at the River side into that unmerciful Element; and by all these many thousands perished. The *Tartars* wanting boats to passe this River, having thus expelled or killed the Souldiery, they returned Triumphant to the City, where they used neither force, nor violence; by which means this noble City was conserved, whose beauty, greatnesse, and riches, I hope to describe elsewhere, not by hear-say, but by what I saw, in the three years space I lived in it, from which I lately came into *Europe*. This City of *Hangcheu* hath an Artificial Channel or Dike to pass by water to the Northern parts of *China*; This Chanel is onely separated by the high part of the way like a Causeway from the River, which as I said, runs on the South part of the City. The *Tartars* therefore drew many Boats out of this Chanel over the Causeway into the River *Cienthang*, and with the help of these Boats they passed the River without resistance, and found the fairest City in all *China*, called *Xaoking*, prone enough to submit to their victorious Armes. This City in bignesse yields to many others, but in cleannesse and comlinessse it surpasses all: it is so invironed with sweet waters as a man may contemplate its beauty by rounding it in a Boat; it hath large and fair Streets paved on both sides with white square stones, and in the middle of them all runs a Navigable Chanel, whose sides are garnished with the like ornament, and of the same stone there are also built many fairs Bridges

Bridges and Triumphant Arches; the Houses also, (which I observe no where else in *China*) are built of the same square stone, so as, in a word, I saw nothing neater in all *China*. They took this Town without any resistance, and so they might have done all the rest of the Southern Towns of this Province of *Chekiang*. But when they commanded all by Proclamation to cut off their Hair, then both Souldier and Citizen took up Armes, and fought more desperately for their Hair of their Heads, than they did for King or Kingdome, and beat the *Tartars* not only out of their City, but repulst them to the River *Cienthang*: nay forced them to passe the River, killing very many of them. In truth, had they past the River, they might have recovered the Metropolis with the other Towns: But they pursued their victory no further, being sufficiently contented that they had preserved their Hair, resisting them only on the South side of the shore, and there fortifying themselves. By this means the conquering Armes of the *Tartars* were repressed for a whole year. But the *Chinois* that they might have a Head, chose *Lu Regulus* of the *Taimingian* Family for their Emperour; who would not accept therof, but would be only stiled, The Restorer of the Empire. In the mean time the *Tartars* had sent for new forces out of *Peking*, with which they left nere a Stone unturned, that they might get over the River *Cienthang*: but all was in vain. The drooping affairs therfore of the *Chinois* now breathed again, nay, having gathered together more Forces, they promised themselves greater victories. But the ambition and emulation of ruling frustrated all their hopes. For the Commanders, and Presidents which fled out of the Province of *Chekiang* into the Country of *Fokien*, carried with them one of *Taiming's* Family, called *Thangus*; and this man they chose King in the Country of *Fokien*, which confines with *Chekiang*. This Prince pretended that the King called *Lu*, should yeeld up his right to him, both because he had but a few Cities under him, and also because he was further removed from the Imperial Race, than he was. But King *Lu*, pretended he was Proclaimed by the Army, before him, and failed not to set forth his victories over the *Tartars*. By which two contentions, the *Tartars* kept the Crown; for these two Royalets, would never yeeld to one another, nor so unite their Armies, as joyntly to repress the *Tartars*. Since therefore this petty King *Lu* had onely eight Cities under his command, whose Contributions were not able to maintain the necessary pay of his Army, he never durst venture to passe over the River, but endeavoured only to defend himself. But the *Tartars* sought all means possibly to get over this River, yet they durst not venture to passe in Boats, because King *Lu* had many ships, and good store of Artillery which he had caused to be brought from Sea. But the *Tartars* felicity, and prosperous fortune, overcame this difficulty: for, as it happened, that year being dryer than ordinary, this River towards the South, where it runs betwixt high Mountains, and is deprived of the flowing of the Sea, had lost much of its depth; and here the *Tartars* Horse found it passable; and because the rudeness of those Mountains, seemed a sufficient Guard to the Country, they found no Souldiers to resist; but as soon as the Clowns espied twenty of their Horse to have passed the River, they presently advertised

The *Chineses* defend their Hair.

The *Tartars* passe the River, and recover the City *Xaoking*.

The Island of
Cheuxan be-
comes a
Kingdom.

The City of
Kinhao is taken
and destroyed.

the Army, and they all betook themselves to flight. King *Lu* himself left the City *Xaoking*, and not daring to trust himself to the Continent, he took Ship and sailed to the Island called *Cheuxan*, which lies opposit to the Citie of *Nimpus*; where he remains to this day safe, and keeps still his Regal dignitie; which Island being heretofore only a retreat for Fishermen, and some Clowns, now is become a potent Kingdom; by reason that many fly from *China* to this King *Lu*, as to their sanctuary to conserve the libertie of their Hair. In this Island there are now found threescore and ten Cities, with a strong and formidable Army, which hitherto hath contemned all the *Tartarian* Power and Forces, and watch for some happy occasion to advance again their Kingdom in *China*. But by this means, the *Tartars* took all the Cities and Towns of the County of *Chekiang* into their Dominion. One only City of *Kinhao*, whose President was aswel a Native of the place, as also the Commander in chief, and my very singular friend, sustained the *Tartars* assaults for some months. But to the end the resistance of this City should not be a hindrance to the course of their Victories, the *Tartars* divided their Army into three parts. The first part marched by the City *Kiuchen*, and the Mountains; the second by the City *Venchen*, and the Sea shore, into the Province of *Fokien*; and the third obstinately besieged the City of *Kinhao*. At which time I by leave from the Emperour *Longwous*, resided in *Henxus* a City subject to that of *Venchen*, which presently after was besieged, and taken by the *Tartars*, together with many other neighbouring Cities. I dwelt in a very fair house of the City *Venxus*, the whole Town then being in a tumult by reason of the feare and flight of most of the Citizens. As soone as I understood of the approach of the *Tartars*, I fixed over the fairest gate of the house, a red paper very long and broad, with this Inscription upon it. *Here dwells the European Doctor of the Divine Law*. For I had observed the *China* Governours when they take any journey to affixe such Inscriptions upon the houses where they happen to lodge, that all men may take notice what great persons are there. Likewise at the entrance of the greater Hall, I set out my greatest and fairest bound books: to these I added my Mathematicall Instruments, prospectives, and other optick glasses, and what else I thought might make the greatest show; and withall I placed the picture of our Saviour upon an altar erected for that purpose. By which fortunate stratagem I not ont only escaped the violence and plunder of the common Souldier, but was invited, and kindly entertained by the *Tartarian* Vice-Roy: Who demanded of me whether I would with a good will change my *China* habit, and cut off my hair. To which I readily consented, and so he commanded me to be shaven there in his presence; and I telling him, that a shaven head would not so well suite with a *China*-Garment, he pluk't off his own boots, and made me draw them on, put his *Tartar* bonnet on my head, feasted me at his Table, and accommodating me with his *Passe*, dismissed me to my ancient quarters in the noble City *Hanchen*, where we had a stately Church and Colledge: In the siege of *Kinhao*, the *Tartars* by reason of great Guns which continually plaid upon them, and by the wise conduct and courage of their noble Commander, suffered many and great losses; insomuch as he forced them to pitch their

their Camp further from the City; But at length they also brought Artillery from the chief City of the Province, by which they made so many breaches in the Walls, as these being in a manner dismantled, they found entrance; and burned and sacked it with all imaginable Hostility. The Governour blew up himself and all his Family with a Barrel of Gunpowder in his own Pallace, lest he, or his, should fall into the Enemies hands.

The Province of *Fokien* is invironed with the bordering Countries of *Quamgtung*, *Kiansi*, and *Chekiang*; from all which it is separated by a continuall Chain of Mountains which are in breadth of three dayes journey to passe over; and withall, so full of ragged and ruggy Clifts, and obscure Vallies, as they make the very Paths horrid, dark and obscure at Noon day. Infomuch, as without any exaggeration, they may well be paralleled either to the Grecian Straits of *Thermopolis*, or to the *Asian* ruggy and strait passage of *Taurus*. These places might have been easily defended if they had but placed a few Clowns, to repel the Enemy, or crossed the wayes by any incumbrances; but the very imagination of a *Tartar* was grown so terrible to them, as they fled at the very sight of their Horses; leaving therefore these Mountains wholly ungarnished, the *Tartars* found a passage, but so very painful, and full of difficulties, as they were forced to leave much of their Baggage behind them; and lost many of their Horses, in those fearfull precipices; but by this meanes they took the Province of *Fokien* with as much ease, as it might have been defended; for they hardly spent as much time in taking it as a man would doe to walk the extent of it. The King himself named *Lunguus* (which signifieth a Warlike Dragon) shewed himself a fearful Sheep, flying away with a good Army of men, if that word rightly can be applyed to a numerous multitude that had no hearts; but his flight served him for nothing; for the *Tartars* following him with their swift and nimble Horses, shot all this flock of filly Sheep to death with Arrows. It is thought the King himself was involved in this Massacre, for he never appeared, nor was heard of afterwards.

The *Tartars* take in *Fokien* very easily.

King *Lunguus* slain.

Now because the whole Province submitted, it self voluntarily unto them without any resistance, it did not only suffer little from the *Tartars*, but they had many choise and select Souldiers out of it; and having thus again recruited their Army, they made another irruption into the Countrie of *Quamgtung*; and its worth remarking, that the other *Tartarian* Commander, who, when the Army was divided (as I related before,) had order to subdue the Mediterranean Countries, with the same felicity and expedition passing victorious through the Provinces of *Huquang* and *Kiangsi*, entred also on one side of this Countrie of *Quamgtung*, whilst the other came in by *Fokien* upon the other side; and because the Town of *Nankiang* resolved to fight it out, they consumed it all, by fire and sword. So the poor Countrey of *Quamgtung* oppressed by a double victorious Army, was quickly over-run & subdued. After this, one of these victorious Armies, enriched with all the rarities of *China*, was called back to *Peking*, but yet they left a Garrison in every City, assigning in the name of the King of *Tartars* both Civil and Martial Officers, for the Countries Government.

The Provinces of *Quamgtung* is taken.

The

A famous Py-
rate in China.

The Tartars
deceive the Py-
rat, and take
him prisoner
by meer Art.

The happie successe in taking the impregnable Province of *Fokien*, is attributed by wise men, (to whose judgement I also submit) to a more remote and hidden cause, which I will briefly relate. There was at this time a famous and renowned Pyrat called *Chinchilungus*; this man was born in the Province of *Fokien*, of which we are treating; he first served the *Portuguese* in *Macao*; then he served the Hollander in the Island called *Formosa*, where he was known to all strangers by the name of *Iquon*. After this he became a Pyrat, but being of quick and nimble wit, he grew from this small and slender fortune, to such a height and power, as he was held either Superiour or equal to the Emperour of *China*; for he had the Trade of *India* in his hand; and he dealt with the *Portugese* in *Macao*; with the Spaniards in the *Phillippins*; with the Hollanders in the Island *Formosa*, and new *Holland*; with the *Japonians*, and with all the Kings and Princes of the Eastern parts in all manner of rich commodities. He permitted none to transport the Wares of *China* but himself or his, to whom he brought back the riches and the Silver of *Europe* and *Indies*; for after he once rather extorted, than obtained pardon of the King of *China* for his Pyracies, he became so formidable, as that he had no lesse than three thousand Ships of which he was Lord and Master. Nor was he contented with this fortune, but aspired privately to no lesse than to the Empire; But because he knew he never should be accepted of the Prefects and people, as long as there was any of the Imperial Family of the *Taiminges* alive, he hoped by the *Tartars* means to extinguish them wholly, and after this was done, then he resolved to display his Banners and Ensigns in so pious a cause, as the driving out the common Enemy from the bowels of the Kingdom; and no doubt but under this pretext, they would all have followed, helped and even adored him, as their Saviour. It was therefore evident that he had secret correspondence with the *Tartars*; and that he favoured them for his own profit; And that which made the businesse more suspicious was, that at that time when the *Tartars* made their irruption into *Fokien*, he was then declared Lord Marshal of the Kingdom, and all the Generals, Commanders and Souldiers, were either of his affinity, or wholly at his Command and Obedience. And therefore it is no wonder, if the *Tartars* found an easie admittance into the Country of *Fokien*; of which they presently made him King *Pingnan*, (as much as to say, *Pacifier of the South*) and they added many other Dignities, and Offices of trust, that they might more speciously illude him; for either they knew his aspiring mind, or else his great power and authoritie was suspicious and formidable to them; but yet all the while that the General of the *Tartars* remained in *Fokien*, they never expressed the least diffidence in him, but both with favours, courtesies, presents and honours, they studied how further to ingage him, and promised him the Government of many more Provinces. He made himself therefore secure of the Government of all the Southern Provinces; but all happened quite contrary to his expectation; for when this General of the *Tartars*, who was observed as a little King, was to depart to *Peking*, the custom was for all the Officers of the Kingdom to conduct him, for some part of his journey, to give him an honourable farewell, which last duty of Civility, *Iquon* could not handsomely avoid, nor indeed, had he any reason

JOHN D. to

to be diffident in him, so as he left his Navie in the Port of *Fochen*, and accompanied the Royolet with great splendor and magnificence. But when he came to take leave, and demand Licence to return, the General of the *Tartars*, invited him a long to *Peking*, where he promised him yet greater honours from the Kings own person, to reward his Merits. He endeavoured by all imaginable impediments, to excuse this journey, but nothing was accepted, he was forced, by their kindnesse, to accompany them to *Peking*; and so he was taken by Art, who by Arms seemed Insuperable. He is yet detained in Prison in *Peking*, because his Brothers and Kindred hearing of his Captivitie, presently seized on the Fleet; with which they have much infested *China*, as we shall touch hereafter.

In the mean time the other Army which had passed the Mediterranean Provinces of *Huquang*, *Kiansi*, and *Quangtung*, invaded the Country of *Quangsi*. But here it was that the Arms of the *Tartars* which hitherto were held invincible, were shewed to be weak, & where they least expected opposition, there they found a stop to their conquests. It happened that in this Province of *Quangsi* the Vice-Roy, called *Khiu Thomas*, was a Christian; and also all the Militia of that Country was commanded by *Ching Lucas*, whose family for five Generations has served the Emperours of *China*, with as much constancy and fidelity, as they did Christ. These two having gathered many together, which fled from all parts into *Quangsi*, after the *Tartars* had taken many places in the Country, overthrew the *Tartarians* in a set Battail; and passing into the confining Province of *Quangtung*, they recovered all the Western part of it. After this, that they might have a head to fight for, and who might command and govern them in all Occurrences, and withall, to draw the minds and hands of the *Chineses* to the common defence of the Country, knowing that in the City of *Queilin*, which is the head City of *Quangsi*, there was one of the *Taiminges* Family living, who was Nephew to the Great *Vanleius*, they elected him Emperour, and called by the name of *Jungley*. This Prince fixed his Imperial seat in the noble City of *Charking* in the Province of *Quangtung*, and hitherto has fought several times with the *Tartars*, with good successe. And in this Princes Court, the chief Eunuch called *Pang Achilleus*, is the greatest favourite, and a great Servant of Christ, whom he hath long professed sincerely to worship, both by word and deed; for, to propagate Christianitie, he has ever maintained a mission of Jesuites about him, by whose painfull endeavours many have embraced the Faith of Christ; And amongst others the very Mother of this Emperour, his Wife, and his eldest Son, Heir of the Empire, called *Constantin*, did all imbrace Christianity. May this Man by the praiers of all Christians prove another *Constantine* to the Empire of *China*. The Emperour himself is not averse from Christianitie, but hitherto he hath deferred his Baptism, but yet he permitted his Wife to send a Father of the Society, to do homage to the Sea Apostolick, as all *Europe* has heard. God of his goodnesse grant him that felicity, which may redound to the universal good of *China*, and Gods greater glory.

But it was not only in *Quangsi* that the *Chineses* began to resume their courage, but in the Province of *Fokien* also; for no sooner was the *Tartarian*

The *Tartars*
overthrow
Quangsi.

Jungley made
Emperour of
China.

The Heir to
the Empire
becomes
Christian.

Theeves infest
the Province of
Fokien.

rian Army called back to *Peking*, but a petty Heathen Priest broke out of the Mountains of *Fokien*, with a band of seditious fellows, and subduing the Tartarian Garrisons took the fair City of *Kienning*, and many others from their subjection; and others which lay lurking in the Mountains following his example, recovered also many other Cities; about which time also the friends and Kindred of the Captive *Iquon* did extremely infest the Sea, and making descents upon the Land, vexed the Province extremely about the Quarters of *Siuenchou*, and *Changcheu*. At this time a chief Governour of the Tartarians, Vice-roy of two Provinces was at *Chekfang*, who hearing of these commotions came presently by night in great haste with all the force he could make, towards the Mountains of *Fokien*; for he with reason feared lest they should take possession of the Passages of those places, which if they had done, the whole Province had been re-gained. But when this Vice-roy, called *Changus*, found the Mountains and Passages clear, & no opposition made in such difficult places, he then proclaimed himself victorious, and his enemies perfidious Rebels: wherefore coming without resistance into the Country, he besieged the City *Kienning*, which was defended by *Vangus*. This Siege held some weeks, but he never could take the place by force, and therefore having lost many of his men by assaults, he judged it best rather to block up the place afar off, than to besiege it so close and neer. But yet by this, he hindred other forces from joyning with *Vangus*, so that he was not strong enough to sally out upon them.

Changus the
Commander
of the Tartars
besieges *Kien-
ning* in vain.

When the noyse of these commotions came to *Peking*, the Emperour presently sent a new supply to appease these tumults; and this fresh Army comming to joyn with the other, brought the City to great streights; but yet they could not win it, til at length they found means by a rare invention to transport their Canons over the Mountains upon Porters Shoulders, by which means they dismantled the Town, and put all whatsoever to the Sword, to the number of thirty thousand persons; as my own friends writ unto me; and not content with this, they set fire on the Town, and brought it all to ashes, by which means, the stately Church erected by the Christians for the service of God, was also consumed by that devouring flame; yet the Priests that served in that Church got out miraculously as *Lot* did out of *Sodom*, which name was appropriated to this City, by reason of that infamous vice. This City being taken, it was no hard matter to recover the Countrey; for some fled to save themselves in the Mountains, others ran to the Sea, and so when this new Army had pacified all, they were called back to *Peking*; where it is not amisse to observe the policy which the Tartars use in the Government and ordering of their Army: They are ever calling back some, and sending out others; in which proceeding they aim at two things; first to keep the Countries in awe and subjection, by seeing variety of Troops continually passing up and down; and secondly, to provide for the poorer sort of Souldiers; for the wealthy Souldier is called back to recreat, and ease labours, and the poor Souldier seeing his Companion grown rich, takes heart and courage to run the same course upon hopes of the like good fortune.

It is at length
taken and razed.

Yet for all these preventions and cautions, their Empire was not so established,

established, but by frequent rebellions it was often indangered; and particularly by one Rebellion, which now I will relate, which shak'd shrewdly the foundations of the new Empire. The Kingdom of *China* is of so vast an extent, as it is a businesse of main importance, to distribute judiciously the Armies and Garrisons. Now because the *Tartars* alone cannot suffice to furnish both, they are forced to use the help of the *Chineses* themselves, although they have a speciall care never to leave or place either Commander or Souldier, who is a Native, in the same Country; yet this care could not exempt them from several Treasons, and Rebellions; though they distribute & order their *Militia*, with great circumspection; for the chief Commander or Governour resides in the Metropolitan City, whom all inferiour Officers obey. This man maintaines alwayes a compleat Army, which he commands to march, when he hears of any risings. Every City has also their own proper Governour, with a competent number of Souldiers, but those for the most part are *Tartars*, and these are *Chineses*. But all this Politicall, and well-established Government could not defend them from Traitors amongst themselves. The first man that did revolt from them was one *Kinus* Governour of the Province of *Kiangsi*. This man was born in *Leaotung*, and because it is a Country that borders upon *Tartary*, the King commonly most confides in the Natives of that Province. It happened I know not how, that this Governour, by reason of some corruptions, and Avarice of the Visitor of the Country, had some contests with him, which grew by little and little to a secret hatred; and although they both dissembled their private malice, as usually they do in *China*, yet at length the flame broke out to the ruin of the Country; for being the one was Governour of the Armes, and the other of Justice, there was a necessity of often meetings, & feastings also. It happened once that whilst they were feasted with a sumptuous Banquet, they were also entertained by a pleasant Comedy; in which the Actors were attired with the habits of *China*, which were more comely and fairer than those which the *Tartars* use; upon which occasion *Kinus* turning himself to the Visitor said, *Is not this habit better, & graver than ours?* This innocent speech was interpreted by his corival Judge, as if he had contemned the Edict about changing of Habits, and expressed too much love to the *Chineses* Garments, before those of the *Tartars*; and of this he sent an Expresse to advertise the Emperour.

How the *Tartars* dispose their Garrisons.

Kinus Governour of a Province rebelleth.

The hatred betwixt the two Prefects disturbs the Country of *Kiangsi*.

But the Governour *Kinus*, had corrupted a Secretary, which served the Lord Chief Justice, who gave him intelligence of all that passed in word or deed in his Masters House. And as soon as he had notice that this Letter was sent to the Court, he presently dispatched those, who intercepted the Packet; which the Governour having read, went presently armed to the Judges Palace, whom he suddenly killed. Then presently he with the whole Province revolted from the *Tartars*, and with the great applause of all the *Chineses*, he submitted himself to *Fungley* the new elected Emperour. One only City called *Cancheu*, which was governed by an incorrupted *Tartar*, refused to submit; which was the whole, and only cause, that the *Tartars* did recover the two Provinces *Kiangsi* and *Quamtung*; both which Provinces revolted at the same time with their Commanders, and

Many places
revolt from
the Tartar.

The deceit of
the Governour
of Cancheu.

both submitted also to the new elected Emperour. *Lihuzus* was Governour of *Quamgtung* at that time, who resolved to joyn his Forces with *Kinus*, and so to cast the *Tartars* out of the Empire; which it is believed they might have effected, if the Governour of *Cancheu*, which is the Key and entrance into four Provinces, had not cunningly undermined all their designs and intentions. But this man hearing that *Lihuzus* had revolted, and marched to joyn his Army with *Kinus*, dispatched to him this deceitfull Letter, *I have not hitherto submitted to Kinus, because I knew his forces were not equal, nor able to resist the Tartars: But seeing thou, most renowned and valiant Captain, beginnest also to march against them, my hopes concerning them are at end, I am thine, and imbrace thy cause; whensoever thou shalt come, or send, I will render my City to thee or thine.* But in the mean time he sent to all the Governours in *Fokien*, to send him secretly all the possible succour they could raise altogether. *Lihuzus* having received the Letter marched towards him, cheerfully, and confidently; But though he found the Gates of the City open, yet he was furiously repelled by the *Tartarians* opposition; which unexpected accident so astonished his Souldiers, as many of them perished, and amongst the rest it is thought himself was killed, for he was never heard of after.

Kinus besieged
by the *Tartars*.

This reverse and crosse fortune did much disturb the progresse of the Emperour *Fungley's* affairs; though *Kinus* in the mean time had many singular victories over the *Tartars*; for when the chief Governour of all the Western parts of *China*, who had placed his chief Seat in *Nanking*, had gathered great Forces to repress his aspiring mind, yet he was severall times routed & overthrowne by him; and if *Kinus* had pursued the course of his victories, he might have come to the very Walls of *Nanking*; but he was sollicitous of the City of *Cancheu*, which obliged him to a retreat; for neither was it safe for him to leave an enemy behind him, nor could he receive victuals from the Emperour *Fungley*, but by *Cancheu*, which is the natural descent of the River; and therefore when he heard of *Lihuzus's* defeat, he presently besieged that City with his whole Army; But whilst he was besieging this City, there came, unfortunately, a new Army of *Tartars* from the Imperiall City of *Peking*, which had order to recover this Province of *Kiangsi*, and therefore *Kinus* was forced to raise his Siege to oppose their entrance by the Northern parts of the Country; And at first having a vast Army, and used to the *Tartarian* warfare, he fought both valiantly and happily; but not being able to sustain any longer their redoubled violent assaults, he was forced to retire for his security to *Nanchang*, the chief City of that Country; which City the *Tartars* durst not venture to take by force, but resolved to reduce it by a long Siege, for which end they gathered together a Company of Country Clowns to make a large and spacious Trench round about the City to the River, and there they placed Ships, so as no Provision could possibly enter. This City of *Nanchang* is great and extremely full of inhabitants, besides the multitude of Souldiers which defended it at that time; so as although *Kinus* had made great Provision for a Siege, yet after some moneths he came to great want and pennury; and yet he held it out though many dyed, expecting stil some succours from the Emperour *Fungley*, which could not be sent; because the

the Souldiers of *Quamgtung* could never subdue the City of *Chancheu*, by which his succour was to passe; wherefore *Kinus* being brought to great extremity, expressed his mind to his Souldiers in these words, *There is no further hope, (my faithful Cōpanions) but in our own valour and strength, we must force our way through the Tartarian Army by dint of Sword; be courageous, and follow my example.* And having ordered all affairs, he suddainly made a Sally out of the Town upon their Trenches; where, though he found a vigorous opposition, yet, with great difficulty, he passed and forced their Trenches, by which means he saved himself and his Army, having killed many *Tartars*; for it is constantly reported that *Kinus* with a good part of his Army lives in the Mountains, expecting there some good occasion to renew the War.

Kinus breaks out of the City.

He being thus escaped, the *Tartars* pillaged the City, and put all the Citizens to the sword; for it is the *Tartars* custom to spare all Cities which submit to them; and to those which have made resistance before they be taken, they are more cruell; but they never spare or pardon those Cities which revolt after they have once been taken. In this Slaughter they killed the two Priests which there assisted the Christians; and their ancient and fair Church was burned in the City. After this, the *Tartars* easily recovered the whole Country, and having appeased all, and left new Garisons in all places, the Army returned victorious to the Royal City of *Peking*. In the mean time this Court prepared new Armies to reduce *Quamgtung* with the other Provinces which acknowledged *Jungley* for the Emperour of *China*; for the Tutor to the young King of *Tartary*, finding the defections and rebellions in the Southern parts to be very frequent, resolved to give those Quarters over to some Tributary Royolets, the better to contain those Countries in their duties; wherefore in the year MDCXLIX. he sent three Armies, consisting partly of *Tartars*, and partly of *Chineses*, under three Tributary Princes, to govern these Provinces with absolute power and Dominion; one of these was King of *Fokien*, another of *Quamgtung*, and the third of the Province of *Quangsi*; but with this condition, that first, of all they should joyn their Forces to recover the Country of *Quamgtung*, and drive away the Emperour *Jungley*. But we shall say more of this hereafter; now having seen the Rebellions of the South, let us look a little back on the Rebellions in the North against the *Tartars* also.

The City of *Nanchang* is destroyed.

Three Kings created with as many Armies against *Jungley* the Emperour of *China*.

In these Northern parts the *Chineses* shewed their desire of Liberty as much as they had done in the South; where the Commanders though overthrown, yet not taken, retired into the abrupt and precipitious Mountains, where they held Counsel, how they might shake off the *Tartars* Dominion; three of these heads inhabited the thickest and highest places of that mountainous Country; the chieft of whom was called *Hous*; this man being strong in men, invited the rest to joyn with him, to deliver his Country from this miserable thraldome; one of them consented, the other could not come, but sent him two thousand men to assist him; so as *Hous* marched out with five and twenty thousand men; which was no contemptible Army if they had been as courageous, as numerous: He put out a Proclamation, in which he challenged the *Tartars*, and threatened them all extremities; and to the *Chineses*, he promised all liberty and freedom;

Hous riseth against the *Tartars*.

The barbarous
resolution of a
Tartarian
Governour.

and upon these hopes, many Towns and Cities admitted him very willingly. *Sigan*, the Metropolitan of the Country, was the only place able to resist him, having within its Walls three thousand *Tartars*, and two thousand selected men of *China*, who served the *Tartar*. The Governour of this Town hearing of *Hous* his motion, gathered all things necessary for a long Siege, till a new supply of *Tartarian* Forces could be sent him. But when he heard that all the Towns and Cities in the Country did voluntarily submit themselves to *Hous*, to prevent the like effect in this City, he resolved to murder all the Citizens most barbarously; nor would he ever be removed from this unhumane sentence, till the Vice-Roy commanding and perswading, and the Citizens promising all faithfull service, at length he changed this Tyrannical Counsel. But he commanded under pain of death, that the *Chineses*, who loved so much their Hair, that they only cut a little of it away, about their Temples, should hereafter shave it off wholly and totally, that so he might distinguish the Citizens from any others, if perchance they entred: he ordained besides, that if any spoke more than two together, they should all be presently killed; he forbade all men to walk upon the Walls, or to walk in the streets by night, or to keep a fire or candle in his house by night; and finally disarmed all, declaring it death to infringe any of these orders.

The chief City
called *Sigan* is
besieged.

These things being thus ordered, he sent out some Scouts to discover the enemies strength, who were partly killed, and partly came flying back to the City; but this *Tartarian* Governour, as well to make an ostentation of his strength, as of his security, commanded the City Gates to be left open, nor would he permit the Draw Bridge to be raised or pulled up, to shew he feared nothing. But for all this, the Commander *Hous* besieges this City afar off, (which was three leagues compasse,) out of the reach of their Artillery; and to the end he might make a shew of greater forces than indeed he had, he joyned to his Army a company of dull headed Clowns, by which means he made up a body of thirty thousand men. The Governour of the City seeing such an Army, as appeared, believed them all to be Souldiers, and lest his Citizens should joyn with them, he thought again of cutting all their throats; but his friends ever diverted him from this outrageous cruelty; and it diverted him from such horrid projects, when he walking upon the Walls, saw the *Chineses* under his colours fight so valiantly against *Hous*; for when he saw this, he used to cry out in their Language, *Hoo Manzu*, (as much as to say) *O good Barbarians*; for so the *Tartars* call the *Chinaes*, as conquering Nations use to expose the conquered to scorn and derision; and he crowned this scoff with these words, *Mauzuxa Manzu*, as much as to say, Let the barbarous kill the barbarous; and when they returned victorious, he did not onely praise them, but gave them Money, and other precious rewards, which were exposed to publick view upon the Walls, to animate them to high and generous exploits; so as *Hous* finding no Body stir in the City, as he expected, could do nothing; besides, there came new succours to the *Tartarian* Army, which when *Hous* understood by his spies, he presently retired. But yet this flight did not serve his turn, nor could he wholly escape the *Tartars* hands; for the Horsemen pursuing them, fell upon the Rear, and killed many, carrying away great

great store of Riches, which the Commander distributed in such proportion, as he gave most to such as were wounded; what became of *Hons* after this action, is unknown, and therefore I conclude, that these Northern revolts produced no other effect, but the spoyl, Rapin and Plunder of all those Quarters, as it had produced the like in the Southern parts. The *Tartars* having happily overcome all difficulties hitherto, fell into another by their own insolency; from the year MDCXLIX. the Emperour of the *Tartars*, being now grown up to mans Estate, desired to Marry the Daughter of the King of *Tayngu*, who is Prince of the Western *Tartars*, hoping by this match, to conserve the friendship of him, whose Forces he feared; for this end he sent his Uncle to him, who was King of *Pauang*. This Prince passed by the impregnable City of *Taitung*; which as it is the last City towards the North, so also it is the Key and Bulwark of the Province of *Xansi* against the irruption of the Western *Tartars*; for it commands all the Souldiers which keep the many Fortifications of those Quarters, where a fair Level down extending it self beyond that famous Wall, I mentioned heretofore, gives a fit occasion for the incursion of the *Tartars*. The Women of this City are held the most beautifull of all *China*; and therefore it happened, that some of the Embassadours followers did ravish some of them; and also carried away by a Rape, a Person of quality, as she was carried home to her Spouse, which was a thing never heard of heretofore amongst the *Chineses*. The people had recourse for these injuries to *Kiangus*, who governed those Quarters for the *Tartars*; who hearing of this grosse abuse, sent to that petty Prince *Pauang*, to demand the new Married Lady to be restored, and to desire him to prevent future disorders in that nature; but he gave a very slight Ear to such complaints; and therefore *Kiangus* himself went unto him, who was not only slighted, but even cast out of the Palace. His anger was quickly turned into rage; which made him resolve to revenge that injury by the *Tartars* blood; he therefore Musters up his Souldiers, and presently falls on the *Tartars*, kills all he could encounter; the Embassadour himself being let down by the Walls of the Town, hardly escaped by swift Horses. Then *Kiangus* displayed a Banner, wherein he declared himself a Subject to the Empire of *China*, but named no Emperour in particular, because perchance he had heard nothing of the Emperour *Fungley*, by reason of so vast a distance. But, however, he invited all the *Chineses* to the defence of their Country, and to expell the *Tartars*; and many Captains as well as Souldiers, came in to him; yea even the very Western *Tartars* against whom he had ever born Arms, being promised great rewards, sent him the Forces which he demanded. This accident extremely troubled the Court; for they knew well that the Western *Tartars* did both aspire to the Empire of *China*, and also were envious at their prosperous course of fortune; they also knew that they were more abundant in Men and Horses than they were; for from hence it is they bought all their best Horses, and they feared that now they should have no more; and therefore they resolved to send presently a good strong Army against him, before he should gather a greater strength. But *Kiangus* who was as crafty as valiant, and one who by long experience knew how to deal with the *Tartars*, first feigned to fly with his Army; But in the Rear

The *Tartars* insolencies produced great danger.

Kiangus riseth against the *Tartars*.

Kiangus gathers great Forces.

he

*Kiangus over-
throws the
Tartars by a
stratagem.
He beats the
Tartars again.*

*Amavangus
himself goes
against Kian-
gus.*

*The Tartars
Banners.*

*The Tartars
delight in hun-
ting.*

he placed very many Carts and Wagons, which were all covered very carefully as if they had carried the richest Treasures they possessed, but in real truth they carried nothing but many great, and lesser, pieces of Artillery, with their mouths turned upon the Enemy: all which the *Tartars* perceiving, presently pursue; they fight without any order, and fall upon the prey with great Aviditie; but those that accompanied the Wagons, firing the Artillery, took off the greatest part of the Army; and withall, *Kiangus* wheeling about, came up upon them, and made a strange carnage amongst them; and after this he shewed himself no lesse admirable in Stratagems than in fortitude and courage; when he fought a set pitched Field, with a new recruited Army of the *Tartars*, in which he obtained so noble, and renowned a victory, that he filled all the Court at *Peking* with fear and trembling; for by this means victorious *Kiangus* had gathered so vast an army, as he counted no lesse than a hundred and fortie thousand Horse, and foure hundred thousand foot, all men having recourse to him, to defend their Country against the *Tartarian* army; and therefore *Amavangus*, Tutor to the Emperour, thinking it not fit to commit this businesse to any other, resolved himself to go against *Kiangus*, and trie the last turne of fortune for the *Tartars*; he therefore drew out all the eight Colours, that is, the whole Forces that were then in *Peking*; for under these eight colours are comprehended all the Forces of the Kingdom of *China*, whether they be Natives or *Tartars*; the first of which is White, called the Imperial Banner; the second is Red; the third is Black; the fourth is Yellow; and these three last are governed and commanded by the Uncle of the Emperour, but the first is immediatly subject to the Emperour; of these four colours by severall mixtures, they frame four more, so as every Souldier knows his own colours, and to what part of the City to repair, where they have ever their Arms and Horses ready for any expedition, so as in one half hour they all are ready; for they blow a Horn just in the fashion of that, which we appropriate usually to our Tritons, and by the manner of winding it, they presently know, what Companies and Captains must march, so as they are ready in a moment to follow their Ensign, which a Horse-man carries tied behind him, though commonly none but the Commander and Ensign knows whither they go: this profound secrecy in their exercise of War, has often astonished the *Chineses*: for many times, when they thought to oppose them in one part, they presently heard they were in another Quarter: and it is no wonder they are so quick, for they never carrie with them any Baggage, nor do they take care for Provision: for they feed themselves with what they finde, yet commonly they eat Flesh, though half roasted, or half boyled; if they find none, then they devour their Horses, or Camels: but ever when they have leasure, they go a hunting all manner of wild Beasts, either by some excellent Dogs and Vultures, which they bring up for that end, or else by incompassing a whole Mountain, or large Field, they beat up all the wild Beasts into a circle, and drive them into so narrow a compasse, as that they can take as many as they please, and dismisse the rest. The earth covered with their Horse-cloath is their Bed, for they care not for Houses, and Chambers; but if they be forced to dwell in Houses, their Horses must lodge with them, and they must have many holes

holes beaten in the Walls; but yet their Tents are most beautiful, which they fix and remove with such Art and dexterity, as they never retard the speedy march of an Army. Thus the *Tartars* train their Souldiers to hardnesse for War.

Out of all these Ensignes *Amavangus* chose the choicest men to accompany his person. And besides, he took part of those which he had deputed to follow the three Royalets which he dispatched to the South, ordering them to take as many out of the severall Garrisons through which they passed, as might supply this defect. But although *Amavangus* had so gallant, and such a flourishing Army, yet he never durst give Battail to *Kiangus*, lest he might seem to expose the whole Empire of the *Tartars* to the fortune of one Battail; So that although *Kiangus* did frequently offer him Battail; yet he ever refused to fight, expecting still to hear what reply the Western *Tartars* would make to his Proposition of his Nephews Marriage; for he had sent a Legate to that *Tartarian* King with pretious gifts, as well to demand his Daughter for the Emperour of *China*, as to desire him to afford no succour to the Rebel *Kiangus*. The precious gifts of Gold, of Silk, of Silver, and of Women, obtained whatsoever he demanded; and therefore *Kiangus* seeing himself deserted of the *Tartars*, that he might provide as well as he could for his own affairs, returned to the City *Taitung*, of which he soon repented himself, when it was too late; for *Amavangus* calling in an innumerable number of Pezants, in the space of three dayes, with an incredible diligence, cast up a Trench of ten Leagues compasse, which he so fortified with Bulwarks and Ramparts, that in a trice he blocked up that City. Then did *Kiangus* see his error in granting them leasure to draw their Trench, which he knew would debar him from all manner of Provision. And therefore being enraged with anger, as he was a man full of mettal, and a great Souldier, turning himself to his Souldiers, he said, *If I must dye, I had rather dye by the Sword, than by Famine*; and upon this marched out presently to the Enemies Trench with his whole Army. Here it was that both the parties fought most obstinately, the one to seek his Passage, the other to hinder his Advance; so as the fortune was various, and the victory doubtfull, untill an unlucky Arrow transpierc'd *Kiangus*; and in him all the hope of *China* perished. His Souldiers seeing him dead; partly ran away, and partly submitted to the *Tartars*, who received them with all courtesie and humanity; for they had cause enough of joy, to see they had escaped the danger of losing the Empire, and that they had conquered so formidable a Commander. But yet they Plundered the City *Taitung*, and burned the City of *Puchen*, where the Church of the Christians also perished. From hence the *Tartars* returned to *Peking*, where I saw them enter overladen with Riches and triumphant Laurels; But *Amavangus* pursued his journey to the Western *Tartars*; where he ratified his Nephew *Xunchius* his Marriage, and brought back with him an infinite Company of Horse from the *Tartars* of the Kingdome of *Tanyu*.

Amavangus
durst not fight
with *Kiangus*.

Kiangus is
killed.

Xunchius the
Emperour
Marries.

In the mean time, the three Royalets which went to the Southern Kingdomes, to pacifie those unquiet Provinces, tooke their journey by the descent of the River *Guel*; and when they passed through that Province,

vince, which the Emperour had given the *Tartars* to inhabit, and cultivate, after he had expelled the *Chineses* for their Rebellion, most of these Pezants, being wholly ignorant of tilling and manuring the ground, as having never been used to mannage a Spade or a Plough, but their Swords; these men, I say, desired earnestly these Princes, that they might accompany them in these Wars, and in their expeditions; Two of these Princes rejected their Petitions; but the third called *Kengus* without any consent or order from the Emperour, listed them amongst his own Troups; upon which they joyfully changed their rustical instruments into weapons for war; when the Emperour heard of this proceeding, he sent word to *Kengus* to dismiss them; but he pretended various excuses, and did neglect the Emperours orders. He therefore commanded the supreme Governour of all the Southern Quarters who resides ever at *Nanking* either to take *Kengus* alive, or cause him to be slain. He presently cast about how to compass the Emperours command with all secrecy, & received the three Royolets with all sorts of divertisements, of Comedies, Banquets, & the like pleasures, as if he had received no distastful order from the Emperour. And when the day was come that they resolved to prosecute their journey by the great River of *Kiang*, the said Governour contrived his businesse so, as he met them again in the River, and under pretence of taking his last farewell, he entertained them nobly with a Royal feast, and in as Royall a Junck; which in *China* are so magnificent, as they resemble rather some gilded Palaces than floating Vessels. In this Princely Ship he entertained these Princes in all jollity and mirth, untill their Army had advanced a good way before, and then he declared to *Kengus* the Emperours order; who presently promised all submission, and to returne to *Nanking* with him, if he would onely permit him to go to his Ship, which expected him in the River, to order some little affairs of his own; which being granted, he no sooner got into his Ship, but, knowing he could not avoid death by another mans hand, he chose rather to be his own executioner, and so hanged himself. Yet for all this, the supreme Governour in the Emperours name, granted to this Mans Son the same Dignity and Province which had been conferred upon the Father; and thus the three Royolets joyning again, having passed *Nanking* and *Kiangsi*, came at length into the Province of *Quamtung*, to carry on the War against the Emperour *Fungley*; and at their first entrance, they took many Cities, which durst not oppose the strength of their Armies; onely, the City of *Quangchen* resolved to try its fortune and strength.

Kengus hangs himself.

This City of *Quangchen* is a most rich and beautiful place; environed with large waters; only the Northern Gate joines to the Continent, on all other sides it is entrable only by boate. In this Town was the Son of the Captive *Iquon* whom I mentioned before; besides, there was a strong Garrison to defend it, and amongst others many fugitives from *Macao*, who were content to serve the Emperour *Fungly* for great stipends; and by reason the *Tartars* had neither Ships, nor skill to govern them, and that the Town had both the one and the other, it is no wonder if they endured almost a whole years Siege, having the Sea open for their relief; the *Tartars* made many assaults, in which they lost many men, and were ever
beaten

beaten back, and vigorously repelled. This courage of theirs, made the *Tartars* fall upon a resolution of beating down the Town Walls, with their great Cannon, which had such effect, as in fine they took it the 24. of *November* MDCL. and because it was remarked that they gave to one of the *Preiects* of the Town, the same Office he had before, it was suspected it was delivered by *Treason*. The next day after, they began to Plunder the City, and the Sackage endured from the 24. of *November* till the 5. of *December*, in which they neither spared Man, Woman or Child; but all whosoever came in their way were cruelly put to the Sword; nor was there heard any other Speech; But, *Kill, kill these barbarous Rebels*; yet they spared some Artificers to conserve the necessary Arts, as also some strong and lusty men, such as they saw able to carry away the Pillage of the City; but finally the 6 day of *December* came out an Edict, which forbade all further vexation, after they had killed a hundred thousand men, besides all those that perished severall wayes during the Siege. After this bloody Tragedy, all the Neighbouring Provinces sent voluntarily their Legates to submit, demanding mercy, which they obtained by the many rich presents which were offered. After this the Royalet marched with his Army, against the City *Chaoking*, where the Emperour *Jungley* held his Court; but he knowing himself far inferiour in Forces, and unable to resist, fled away with his whole Army and Family, leaving the City to the *Tartars* mercy. But whither this Emperour fled, is yet wholly unknown to me, for at this time I took Shipping in *Fokien* to the *Philippines*, and from thence I was commanded to go for *Europe*, by those whom I must not disobey. But I make no doubt, but the Emperour retired into the adjoining Province called *Quangsi*.

The City of *Quangchen* is taken and pillaged.

The Emperour, *Jungley* flies.

Now to give the Reader a little touch how the *Tartars* stand affected to Christianity; in the Metropolitane City of *Quangchen*, which (as I now related) was utterly destroyed, we had a stately Church, and there was a venerable person, who had the care and superintendency of all the Christians, whose name was *Alvarus Sernedo* a Jesuit; this Man they took & tye hand & foot for many dayes, and threatned to kill him every houre, unlesse he would deliver the Christians Treasures; but the poor man had no Treasure to produce; so as he suffered much, till at length the King hearing of his case, took pitty of his venerable gray Heirs and comely Person, and gave him not onely his life and liberty, but a Bible, and a Breviary, together with a good summe of Money for an Almes; and finally a House to build a Church for Christians; and this is lesse to be wondred at from him, because heretofore he had been a Souldier under that famous *Sun Ignatius*, whom I mentioned before, where he knew what belonged to Christianity, and also had seen the Jesuits in his Camp, from whence he fled to the *Tartars*. Nor is it onely this *Tartar* that favours us Christians, but in a manner all the rest do love, honour, and esteem those Fathers, and many have imbraced our Religion, nor do we doubt but many more would follow their example, if we could enter *Tartary*, as now it is projecting, where doubtlesse many great things may be performed, for the reducing of that Nation to the Faith of Christ; and perchance God has opened a way to the *Tartars* to enter *China*, to give Christianity a passage

The Author of the Relation of *China*.

The *Tartars* offer a Church to Christians.

into *Tartary*, which hitherto to us hath been unknown and inaccessible.

Corea revolted
from the *Tar-*
tars.

About this time also they made War against the Kingdome of *Corea*, who of late years became also Tributary to the *Tartars*, upon condition that they should still conserve their Hair and Habits: but now the *Tartars* would needs constrain them to conform themselves to the *Tartarian* fashion; and therefore all that Kingdome revolted from the *Tartars*; but my departure hindred me from knowing since what has passed.

Amavangus
dyeth.

But all these glorious victories were much eclipsed, by the sorrowfull death of *Amavangus*, which happened in the beginning of the year MDCLI. He was a Man to whom the *Tartars* owe their Empire in *China*, and such an one as whom both *Tartars* and *Chineses* loved and feared, for his prudence, Justice, humanity, and skill in Martial affairs. The death of this Potentate did much trouble the Court, for the Brother to this Man called *Quingius*, would needs pretend to the Government of the Empire, and of the young Emperour *Xunchius*; but both the *Tartars* & the *Chineses* resisted his claime, alledging, that, being of sixteen year old, he was able to govern the Kingdom himself: & in conformity to this opinion, all the Presidents deposed the Ensignes of their Offices, refusing ever to receive them from any, but from the young installed Emperour *Xunchius*. To which Constancy the King *Kuintus*, Uncle to the Emperour, prudently yeelded, lest he should exasperate the minds of many, and raise greater troubles in the Empire.

But I cannot doubt, but the death of *Amavangus*, must needs endanger the *Tartarian* Empire, and bring all their affairs into great disturbance; for they will hardly find a Man so beloved, feared, and expert in all Military Discipline and Government as he in effect shewed himself to be; but time will teach us, what will become of all, for since his death we have no certainty of any relation.

Now let us turne the threed of our discourse as I promised here above, and consider the fortune and success of the other Great Brigand, called *Changhienchungus*, to let the Reader understand how the *Tartars* did invade, not onely the Mediterranean and Oriental parts, but also the Occidental Quarters of that vast Kingdome.

Changhien-
chungus a cruel
Tyrant.

But before I begin to speak of this monster of nature, I must ingeniously confess, I am both ashamed, and also touched with a kind of horror, to declare his villanies, both in respect they seem to exceed all belief, and therefore I may perchance be held to write Fables; as also because it is no grateful thing to make reflections on such Subjects, yet I may sincerely protest, that I have in my hands a long relation of all his Acts, written by two Religious persons, who were then in the Province of *Suchuen* to exercise their Functions, which Country was the Theater of all his Brutalities, which I shall relate; and because I judge these two persons to be of an incorrupted Faith, I judge therefore that a mortal Man might arrive to this pitch of wickedness and inhumane Cruelty. I therefore gathered out of that relation, what I here relate, which is nothing else but a vast Masse of such abominable Cruelty, as I doubt not even the most mildest Reader will take the Authour to be no Man but some horrid wild Beast, or rather, if no more execrable name occurs, some Devill transvested in our humane Nature.

p. 5

This

This monster, like a wild Bear, entred into divers Provinces, filling all with Rapin, Death, Fire and Sword, with all other imaginable miseries: for he had a mind to destroy all, that so he might have no enemies, or leave any alive that might revolt from him, but only content himself with his own Souldiers, and oftentimes he spared not these. But the Province of *Suchuen*, where he usurped the Title of a King was the chief Theater of his barbarous crueltie; for after he had afflicted and vexed the Provinces of *Huquang* and *Honan*, and part of that of *Nanking* and *Kiangsi*, he entred the Province of *Suchuen* in the year MDCXLIV. and having taken the principal Citie called *Chingtu*, in the heat of his fury he killed a King of the *Taimingian* Race, which here had established his Court; as he hath done also to seven other Grandees of the same family. These were the Preludes of the Tragical Acts, whose Sences I go about briefly to describe, that so Europe may see, what a horrid and execrable thing an unbridled and armed crueltie appears to be, when it furiously rageth in the darknesse of Infidelitie.

He kills divers Princes.

This Brigand had certain violent and suddain motions of furious crueltie, and maxims drawn from the very bowels of vengeance it self; for if he were never so little offended by another, or suspected another to be offended with him, he presently commanded such to be massacred; and having nothing in his mouth but murder and death, he often for one single Mans fault destroy'd all the Family, respecting neither Children, nor Women with Child; nay many times he cut off the whole Street where the offender dwelled, involving in the Slaughter, as well the innocents as not. It happened once he sent a man post into the Country of *Xensi*, who being glad he was got out of the Tyrants hands, would not return; to revenge this imaginary injury, he destroyed all the Quarter of the Citie in which he dwelt, and thought he much bridled his fiercenesse, that he did not wholly extinguish all the Citie. To this I adde another unhumane Act, about his hangman, whom it seems he loved above the rest, because he was crueller; this man dying of a disease, he caused the Physician who had given him Physick to be killed; and not content with this, he Sacrificed one hundred more of that Profession to the Ghost of his deceased Officer.

For one offending, he puts all to death.

He was affable and sweet towards his Souldiers; he plaied, banquetted, and feasted with them, conversing familiarly with them; and when they had performed any Militarie Action, with honour and valour, he gave them precious gifts of Silks and Monies; but yet many times he commanded some of them to be cruelly put to death before him upon very small cause, especially such as were of the Province of *Suchuen* where he reigned; (whom he intirely hated, because he thought they did not rejoyce in his Royal dignitie.) Insomuch as he hardly ever did any publick Action, which though it began like a Comedie, yet had not in fine, the sad Catastrophe of a Tragedie; for if, walking out, he did but espie a Souldier ill clad, or whose manner of Gate or walking was not so vigorous or Masculine as he desired, he presently commanded him to be killed. He once gave a Souldier a piece of Silk, who complained to his fellows of the poornesse of the piece, and being over-heard by a spie, (of which he had a great number)

His hatred to the people of *Suchuen*.

who presently acquainted him with what was said, he presently commanded him, and this whole Legion which were of two thousand men, to be all Massacred.

He cuts off a
Legion for
one mans fault.
He kills many
City Officers.

He had in his Royal Citie some six hundred Prefects, or Judges, and men belonging to the Law, such as managed the principal Offices; and in three years space there was hardly twentie left, having put all the rest to several deaths for very slight causes; He caused a Sergeant Major which the *Chineses* call *Pingpu*, to be flea'd alive, for having granted leave to a *China* Philosopher, without special order, to retire a little to his Country House. And whereas he had five hundred Eunuchs taken from the Princes of the *Taimingean* Family, after he had put their Lords to death; he commanded all these to be cruelly put to death; onely because one of them had presumed to stile him, not by the Title of a King, but by the bare name of *Changhienchungus*, as if he then were no Theef.

And he killed
also the Eunuchs.

Nor did he spare the Heathenish Priests, who sacrificed to their Idols. These sort of men, before he came into this Country, having feigned many crimes against the Priests, which preached the Faith of Christ, had raised a bitter persecution against them; which God of his goodnesse did turn so much to their good, as they had permission to teach and preach publicly the Law of Christ. But after this Tyrant came into the Countrey, the chief of these Heathenish Priests was apprehended for some words let fall against him, and in the presence of the Fathers, who by accident were then at audience with the Tyrant, he was beheaded; And although they had learned of Christ to do good for evil, yet knowing the phrenetical anger and fury of this monster, who used to punish those that interceded, with the punishment of the offender, they durst not make any motion for the least favour. It is true, this cruel Beast loved these Fathers, and would often converse with them, whom he experienced wise and learned, and he would often call them to the Palace to entertain him in discourse; but they knowing well his precipitous anger, went ever prepared for, and expecting death; and indeed they were thrice deputed to death; and a fourth time escaped also by Gods particular providence, as we shall relate in time and place. But he was not contented with the death of one of these same Heathenish Priests, but having got together about twentie thousand of the same profession, he sent them all to hell, to visit their Masters whom they had served. And then he would applaud himself, as if he had done a very Heroical Action, saying to them, *These men would have taken away your lives; but Thienchen*, so they call God, which signifies the Lord of Heaven, *has sent me to revenge your cause, & inflict due punishments upon these wretches.* He would often confer also with the Fathers of Christian Religion, and that so properly, as a man would take him for a Christian. He praised, and highly extolled the Religion of Christians, which he well understood, partly by the conferences which he frequently had with the Fathers, and partly by reading their books, which for the Instruction of Christians they had writ in the *China* language; & hath often promised to build a Church to the God of Christians, worthy of his magnificence, when he once came to be Emperour of *China*; and indeed all the works he erected were very splendid and magnificent; but he polluted them all with the blood of the Workmen;

For one mans
fault he kills
twenty thousand.

Workmen; for if he found they had but committed the least error, or the least imperfection, he presently put them to death upon the place.

On the North part of the Country of *Suchuen*, where it confines with the Province of *Xensi*, lies the strong City called *Nanchung*, which though it be seated in the County of *Xensi*, yet in respect, it is both so strong and of so great an extent, it is held to be the Key of both the two Provinces. The Tyrant endeavoured by all industry to make himself Master of this important place, as being a convenient passage to the rest; wherefore in the year MDCXLV. he levied a vast Army, consisting of one hundred and fourscore thousand men, all Natives of the Countie of *Suchuen*, besides those of his own, which had alwaies followed him. He sent before this numerous Army, which besieged the Town a long time, but found so rigorous resistance, that they began to be weary, and about fourtie thousand of those Souldiers of *Suchuen* revolted to the Prefects which governed the beleagured Citie; by which means the Army was constrained to return to the Tyrant, without any memorable Action: and he being enraged with anger to see them retire, commanded all the rest of the Souldiers of the Province of *Suchuen*, (which were in number one hundred and fourtie thousand,) to be all massacred by the rest of the Army. This horrible Butchery lasted four daies; in which slaughter he commanded many of them to have their skins pulled off, which he filling with straw, and sowing on the head, commanded to be carried publickly and visibly into the Towns where they were born, so to strike more terrour into the hearts of the inhabitants; and after all this, yet he had such a malicious hatred against this Country, that he never ceased to vex and torment it, even when it was in a manner left desolate. Many unexpert persons, without head or guide, did take Arms against him, but he quickly dispersed them, being wholly unexperienced in Military Discipline; others that were wiser, leaving the City, retired into the Mountains, which were in a manner the onely men who escaped his fury.

He endeavours
to take Han-
chung.

He kills
140000 men
most cruelly.

After this he called all the Students of the Country to be examined for their degrees, promising to give those honours, to whomsoever should deserve them best; and the *Chineses* are so bewitched with the desire of these dignities, that they did not conceive the perfidious Stratagem of the Tyrant. There appeared therefore in the publick Hall deputed for that Ceremony about eighteen thousand persons; all which he commanded his Souldiers to massacre most barbarously, saying; These were the people who by their cavilling sophisms, solicited the people to rebellions.

He kills all the
Students.

I have a horror to relate so many unhumane slaughters, and yet I see my self over-whelmed with new ones; for what an addition is it to all his related barbarities, to tell you, That he never spared Children, Boys, nor Girls, no nor Matrons with Child, and ready to lye down? what an excess of all inhumanity to take the Prefects Wives; when their Husbands were condemned, but yet alive, and to expose these Women to all kind of villainies; and then to kill them? This was so resented by many, as they rather chose to kill themselves, than to undergoe so infamous and publick an opprobry to their honesty. I forbear to relate more of such detestable and execrable examples, lest I offend the ears and minds of the Reader by such abominations.

He kills the
Children and
exposes the
Matrons.

Let

Let us therefore suppress these impurities, and passe to what happened in the year MDCXLVI. when the *Tartars* entred into the Province of *Xensi* to give him Battail, so as he was forced to go out to meet them. And, to the end he might leave the Country behind him with more security, he resolved to cut off all the inhabitants, (except those which inhabited the North-East Quarters by which he was to passe, and therefore must needs reserve these Creatures to assist and furnish his Army with all necessities; and therefore he deferred their death to another time.) First therefore he commanded all the Citizens of what quality or condition soever, that did inhabit his Metropolitan City of *Chingtu* to be bound hand and foot, which was done by a part of the Army, which he had called in; and then riding about them, (which vast multitude is related to have been above six hundred thousand Souls,) he viewed them all with lesse compassion than the cruellest Tygre would have done; whilest in the mean time, these poor victims with lamentable crys, which penetrated the very vault of Heaven, and might have moved a heart composed of stone or Rock, holding up their hands, begged of this outrageous Tyrant to spare the lives of his innocent people. He stood a while Pensive, like an astonished and amazed Creature; so as it seemed to be an imperfect *Crisis*, wherein humane nature struggled a little with those bowels, and that heart which was composed of all cruelty, but presently returning to his beastly nature, *Kill, kill, saith he, and cut off all these Rebels*, upon which words, they were all massacred in one day out of the City Walls, in the presence of this bloody monster. Those Religious persons, which were there, the Fathers of Christianity, resolved to make their addressees for the Tyrant to save their converts lives; and though all men judged it a desperate attempt, yet they obtained the lives of those they claimed. So as they distributed themselves at the City Gates, and as their Clients passed bound to the Shambles, they mercifully unbound their Shackles, and rescued them from death. By which occasion also they performed another acceptable Sacrifice to God, in Baptizing an infinite number of Children, which the Soldiers willingly permitted, so as the horrid and execrable cruelty of this Tyrant proved as advantageous to these little Angels, as *Herods* slaughter did to the Blessed Innocents.

He kills 600000
in the City
Chingtu.

Many Chil-
dren Baptized.

They write, that in this massacre there was so much blood spilt, as made the great River of *Kiang*, which runs by the City, to increase and swell visibly; and the dead Corps being cast into the River, and carried downwards to the other Cities, did denounce unto them, that they were to expect no better Treaty from this Tyrants hands. And it quickly proved true, for he dispatched his Army to the rest of the Cities, and killed all that he could lay hands on; and thus this Tyrant did bring that populous Province of *Sachuen* into a vast wilderness. After this, he mustered all his Souldiers in a Field, which in every City of *China* is deputed for that end, and is called by the Natives *Kioochang*; in this place, he delivered himself thus unto them, *I hope by your valour to obtain the Empire of the world, when I have expelled the Tartars; but I desire to see you yet quicker and nimbler than hitherto you have been; you all know, to free you from all burdens and heavy luggage, how I sunk threescore Ships full of Silver in the River* of

of Kiang, which I can easily recover, to reward your pains and merits, when I shall once have obtained the Empire; (he had indeed sunk the Ships, and killed the Ship men, to conceal the place;) but there remains yet a greater encumbrance, which retards much our journey, and all our enterprises, which is your Wives, which are a heavy burden to you all; Therefore now put on a generous resolution; There will not be wanting other exquisite Women, when we are come to possess the Empire; and although as Emperour I ought to have some Prerogative, and make a difference betwixt you and my Royall person, yet I am content in this, to give you all a leading example, which may serve as a President. He kills all the Souldiers Wives.

After this Speech, of three hundred handsome and beautiful Maids, which he kept for his voluptuous pleasures, he onely reserved twenty to serve his three Queens, and commanded all the rest to be killed upon the place. The Souldiers presently followed the example and command of their cruel Tyrant, and cut off the heads of innumerable innocent Women, as if they had been their mortal enemies.

Having now no more men in the Province of *Suchuen* to put to death, he turned his fury and hatred against the Cities, Houses and Palaces: for whereas he had built himself a very stately and magnificent Palace in the City of *Chingtu*; he consumed that, and with it, a great part of that noble City with fire; besides he cut down all Trees and Woods, that they might profit no man. And thus (as he said) having purged his Army, he marched on into the Province of *Xensi* to meet the *Tartars*; but as he marched, if he found any man remaining alive, he commanded him to be killed. And not content with all this, if he espied any Souldier which marched either too far before, or too far behind, though the fault were never so little, he killed him presently. He killed all his sick or weak Souldiers, that they might be delivered (as he said) out of so miserable and ruined a Country. I suppress many more passages of his cruelty, because I will hasten to the Catastrophe of this Tragedy. He burned his Palace in the City of *Chingtu*.

He was no sooner entred into the Province of *Xensi*, but one of the Emperours Uncles meets him with five thousand *Tartars*, the Body of the Army marching after him; five Horsemen are sent out before the Army (as usually they do amongst the *Tartars*;) who if they be well received of the enemy, they take it as a sign of Peace and submission; but if they receive any Act of hostility, then the Army marcheth up to fight. These Horsemen were espied by the Tyrants Scouts, who presently brought him Tidings of their approach. But he laughed at the news, and jestingly asked them, If the *Tartars* had learned to fly. He drove at that time many persons bound before him, which he intended to massacre, and amongst the rest two of the Jesuits, for asking leave to returne into *Suchuen*, which was the Country they had undertaken to convert to Christianity. But the suddain death of this Arch-brigand delivered them all from the imminent danger; for at the same time came in his chief Commanders, assuring him the *Tartar* was upon him; upon which news, he being of a bold and courageous humour, burst out of his Tent; and without either head-piece or breast-Plate, snatched up a Lance, and went out with a few, to view the enemy. The foresaid five *Tartars* presently assaulted the Tyrant, and the first Arrow was shot,

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The Tyrant is slain.

(happy to the *Tartars*, and many others,) pierced the heart of that monster of Cruelty, killing that Man, who had an intention to make an end of all Men; and who from the base condition of a raskally Theef, presumed to take the Sacred Title of King and Emperour. The head being down, the *Tartars* easily seized on the body of his Army; many of the Souldiers submitted to them, others were killed, others ran away; and the poor inhabitants of the Province of *Suchuen* received the *Tartars*

The Province of *Suchuen* is made subj. & to the *Tartars*.

as their Saviours. By which means this Province which is the most Western in *China*, and borders upon the Kingdome of *Tibet*, became subject to the *Tartarian* Empire.

When they had established Garrisons, and all their other Affairs in that Country, they prepared to returne to the Royall City of *Peking*, leading with them the two Captive Priests, which they had found in Chains, as a present most acceptable to the *Tartarian* Emperour; there I saw them, and left them in great veneration and honour in the year MDCL.

One of the Emperours Uneles is ill received.

But this victorious Conquerour returning crowned with Laurels, was ill received and worse recompensed, by his Brother the great *Amavangus*, (who was the Emperours Tutor;) and in stead of a deserved triumph, he received an unworthy death; for being to make a march of many Months, to undergo much labour, and many troubles, it happened so, that he lost more Men in marching than in fighting; upon which he was accused of great negligence in governing his Army; and being of a generous nature, he thought he deserved high praise, but no blame, and therefore he took his *Tartarian* Cap, and scornfully trampled it upon the ground, (which is the greatest sign of indignation, which they can expresse,) upon which fact he was committed to a Prison proper to those of the blood Royall which he accused of any Crime; But he scorned to be the first of the *Tartarian* Family, which should suffer this opprobry in *China*; and therefore before he was carried to this Prison called by the *Chinese* *Coaciang*, he hung himself miserably in his own Palace. A Gallant Prince, and worthy of a better fortune. Many think this disgrace to have grown from *Amavangus* his eldest Brothers emulation; but I think that *Amavangus* was affraid that this Man, though wanting no courage, yet of a precipit nature, would quickly ruin the *Tartarian* affairs, by his rash proceedings. And here I will put a period to this brief Narration of the *Tartars* War to the year MDCLI. in which year I was sent to *Europe*, by those that may command me. In which relation if there be nothing else worthy of admiration, yet it seems wonderfull to consider, that in seven years space they conquered more ground, than an entire Army could have walked through in the whole length & breadth thereof in that space of time; for they over-ran the twelve vast Provinces of *China*; besides the immense extents of *Leatung*, and the Kingdom of *Corea*.

He hangs himself.

What since has past; in such vicissitude of fortune; I know not; but as soon as God shall blesse me with a prosperous returne into my beloved *China*; or that my friends acquaint me with any new Occurrences by Letters, I will procure that all *Europe* shall understand the Issue of these prodigious revolutions.

FINIS.



An Addition to the former History,
taken out of the last Letters from *China*
Written in the years 1651. 52. and 53.



FTER the Printing of this our History of the *Tartarian* Wars, returning to *Brussels* from *Amsterdam* (where I used all possible expedition to bring my *Atlas Sinicus* to the Presse) I there received my long desired Letters from *China*, sent by my friends from *Rome*, some of which being dated the 14. of *November* 1651, were writ by a *Sicilian*, called Father *Francis Brancatus*, who sojourns in the City of *Xanghai*, in the Province of *Nan-*

king; and reflecting, that happily it would not be ungratefull to our *Europeans*, if I made a private relation, of publick use, I resolved to draw out this little ensuing Narration from those Letters written in severall years.

The Empire of *China* is now grown to a more fixed and settled Estate, since the death of *Amavangus* Uncle to the Emperour: to whose expedition in invading that Empire and Vigilance in conserving it, the *Tartars* owe their happy successe.

But yet, the opinion framed of him after his death, was far different from the authority and power he carried in his life; for no sooner was the exercise of governing by his death devolved into the hands of his Nephew, called *Xunchi*; but that this Emperour, though a youth in years, began his reign by the approbation of all estates and orders, with such maturity of judgement, and counsel, as he seemed to surpasse the gray and hoary heads of his wisest Counsellors. He was no sooner enthroned, then he expressed a strange ripeness of judgement, and severity of Justice joyned together; for having discovered his Uncles wicked counsels and designs, and traced the obscure track of his abominable vices, which were hid during his life: he did so much resent those detestable Acts, as he commanded his body to be digged up, and his magnificent Sepulchre to be beaten down; which kind of punishment amongst the *Chineses* is held to be the greatest that can be inflicted; being taught by their Religion, to carry all veneration and respect to the tombs of dead persons. The Carcasse being dragged out, they first beat it with Clubs, then they scourged it with Rods; and finally, cutting off the head, they made it a spectacle to all criminal opprobies. Thus the splendour of his Tomb, was brought to dust; and fortune paid him after his death, the disgrace she owed him in his life.

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He punished also all the Officers and Prefects, which were privie to his counsels; putting some to death, and depriving others of their dignities. Amongst all which I find the fortune of General *Fung* to have been very various: who though he be no Christian, yet being a singular friend, and protector of our society, and particularly known to my self, I cannot but rejoyce to hear him restored, to his place and dignity, after his discovered innocency. In the meantime the Emperour *Xunchius*, growing up to mans estate, and solicitous to propagate his honour to his posterity, resolved to accomplish his long intended Marriage with the Daughter to the Emperour of the Occidental *Tartars*: In which action, the *Tartars* imitate the *European* custom; for they take a Lady of some like illustrious blood or descent; But the Emperours of *China* seem little to value the nobility of blood, but select the pri- nest beauty; nor will they refuse a person of a mean fortune, if she be but graced with beauty; In so much, as the Wife to the late Emperour of *China*, was Daughter to a man, that got his living by making straw Shoos. So King *Ahasuerus* raised a poor Captive maid to be Consort with him in his Royal Throne: which kind of custom happily the *Chineses* drew from the *Persians*, or the *Persians* from them. But to return to the subject that caused this little digression. The Emperours Wedding was performed with a Pomp and splendor proportionable to such an Empire: nor was there any magnificence wanting on the Spouses part; for according to the fashion of the Nation, she came accompanied with whole Armies of men, and so many Troops of Horse, as they seemed innumerable; nature seeming to have framed the riches of the *Tartars* more for warlike affairs, than for pleasure. Nor is this infinit multitude of Horse incredible, for I my self have seen eighty thousand Horse, all at one time, sent as a present from the Occidental *Tartars* to the King of *China*.

Which boundlesse power of the *Tartars*, as it cannot be contained within any limits, so also it hath lately broke out into the Province of *Quamtung*, which they have wholly subdued; and out of that, like an impetuous Torrent, they ran into the Province of *Quangsi*; which they likewise have conquered to their Empire. So as the King of *China* called *Fungley*, with his chief favourit the Eunuch, called *Pang Achileus*, who professeth Christianity, were feign to fly to the Confines of *Tunking*, being in a manner excluded the whole Empire. In so much as a friend of mine writes out of the Province of *Fokien*, that the King *Fungley* fearing to fall into the *Tartars* hands, was feign to leave the Land, and fly to Sea. Neither have we any news of our Father *Andrew Xaverius Koffler* who followed the Court of King *Fungley*, having had the happinesse to have Baptized his Queen, his Sonne, and his Mother, with many others of that Court.

In the meantime, whilst one *Cung*, a Royolet amongst the *Tartars*, subdued the Province of *Quangsi*, the *Colaui*, who was Governour of the Country, and a Christian, fell into the Enemies hands; and the *Tartars*, hoping by rewards and promises of dignities, to win the submission of this so gallant a man, and so eminent a Philosopher, abstained three daies from any cruelty, or ill usage toward him; But he scorned to prefer his life before his allegiance and fidelity to his King; and therefore lost his head.

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But yet, this generous Action was admired and honoured by those brutish Souls, who presently erected a magnificent Tomb, in memory of so honourable an Act; for although the *Tartars* solicit the *Chineses* to revolt from their Prince, yet they honour and praise such as shew themselves constant to him; And this memorial of him, I owe as well to the singular friendship he was pleased to contract with me, as also to his eminent virtues, of which I my self & the whole Church of Christians in *China*, were both Spectators and Admirers, for the space of twenty years. He was Born in the Province of *Nanquin*, in the City *Changcho*, being called *Kin Thomas*, a Name most worthy of eternal Memory.

During the sackage of these Provinces, news arrives from the Country of *Suchuen*, (which the notorious Brigand called *Changhienchungus*, famous for his strange cruelty and abominable villanies, had so wasted,) that it begins again to be shaken with severall tempests of War; & though he seemed to be quite destroyed in the last Battails, yet from thence doth appear again new trouble and vexation to the Empire.

The Province of *Fokien* also begins to grone under the same miserable condition of War; for the Reverend Father *Peter Canewary* Native of *Genoa*, writes out of the City *Changchen*, which was besieged the 30. of *March* 1652. that *Quesingus*, having made a descent from his Ships into that Province, hath overrun the whole Country, taken some Cities and Towns, and carried on the War with great terrour to the Inhabitants. Inasmuch as the *Tartarian* Commanders keepe themselves, and their Army in their Forts, and other places of strength, not daring to appear in the field to oppose him; but yet he said they expected new Forces and Succours from *Peking*; by which they doubt not, but quickly to subdue him.

This *Quesingus*, who now vexeth this Province of *Fokien*, is Son to the famous Pyrate *Iquon* or *Chinchilungo* whom the *Tartars* imprisoned by a flight, as I recounted to you in my former History.

And to let you know what I further heard from some passengers of *China*, who in the month of *January* 1653. were cast, in a Ship of *China*, upon the Coasts of an Island called *New Holland*; whither I had been brought before by their Barks, and Souldiers, as their Prisoner; These men related that a great Army of *Tartars* was arrived, to subdue *Quesingus*; whose Commander thought it fit to joyn Art to his Force; and therefore he commanded a handfull of men, to charge the *Chinese* Army, and presently by feigning flight, to retire to more advantageous and surer places. In the mean time, he had placed a number of Horse in a deep valley behind a Mountain, towards which Quarters the fugitive Troops retired. This flight gave courage to the *Chinese*, and the desire of victory, made them venture so far from the River *Chang*, where their ships lay at Anchor, as they found themselves environed by the *Tartars* Army. This desperate condition which excluded the *Chineses*, from returning to their Ships, caused a very great, and bloody slaughter, in which there perished above 80000 of the *Chinese* Army; whilst *Quesingus* a spectator of this sad accident from the Mast of his Ships, as they relate, was heard to say, that he would once more try his fortune against the *Tartars*; but if he proved again adverse unto him, he then would submit, and shave his Hair, like a *Tartar*.

Concerning the present state of Christian Religion, being at *Brussels* this last *June*, in the year 1654. I received letters from *China*; in which they gave me notice, that the Father Jesuits, were very favourably treated by the *Tartars*; yea better than before; that they permit free exercise of the Christian Catholick Religion, through all their Kingdoms, granting them leave not onely to enjoy their ancient Churches, but also liberally contributing to build new ones; so, by the goodnesse of God, that which endamaged others, proveth gain to them. But I reserve all particulars to a larger Relation in a greater Volume, which shall continue *Trigautius* his History of the missions dispatched into *China*, concluding with the year 1610. to these our present Times.

FINIS.



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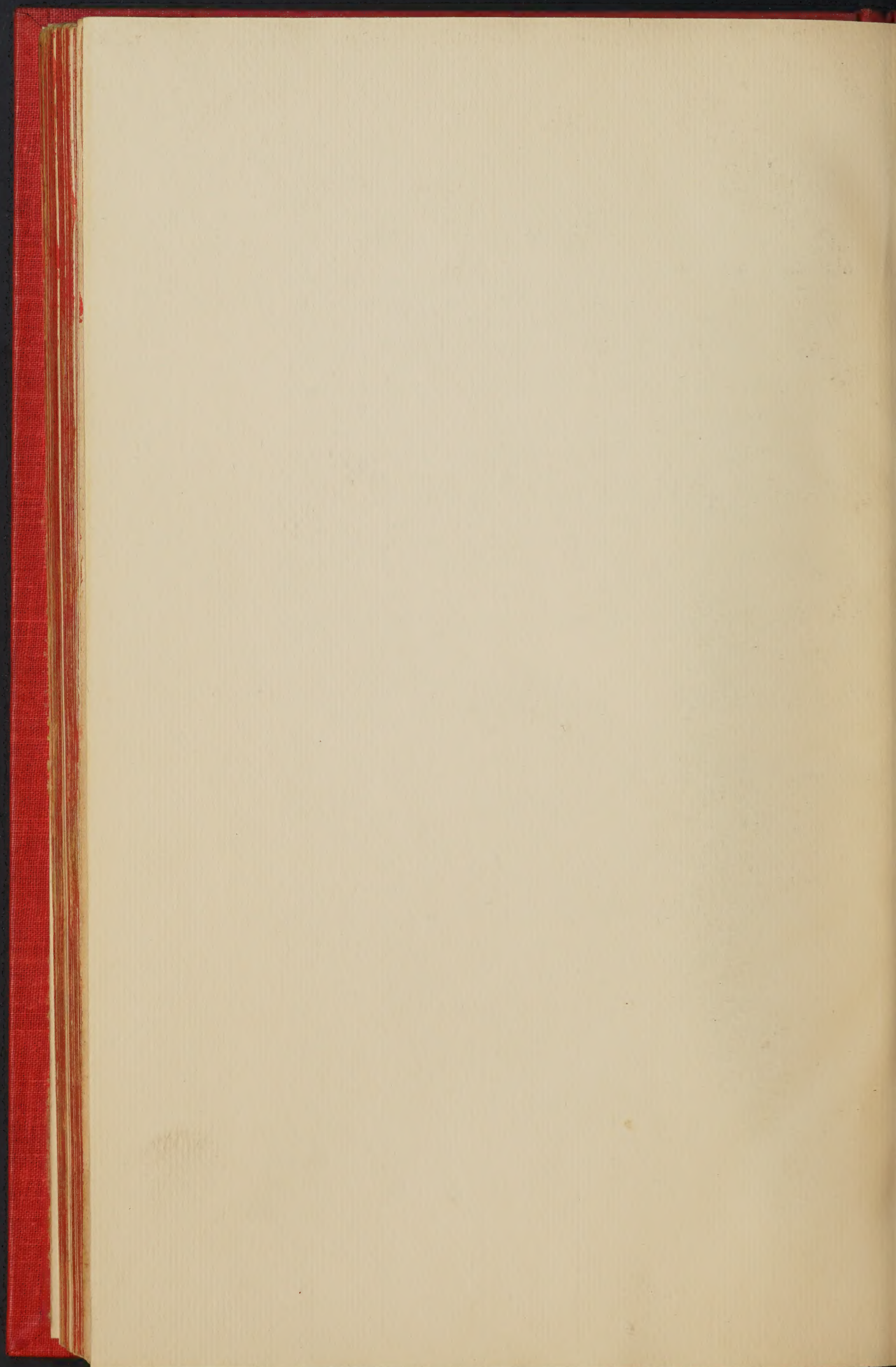
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